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VOWEL ALLITERATION IN MODERN POETRY

Modern vowel alliteration seems as yet not to have received the attention it deserves. Some prosodists take so narrow a view of it as virtually to exclude the most effective examples; others look upon it askance as of doubtful prosodic value; and still others deny its very existence. I shall cite a few opinions. E. S. Dallas, in a much-quoted article on alliteration contributed to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (reprinted unrevised, uncorrected, and incon siderably augmented in the eleventh edition), asserts that "alliteration is never effective unless it runs upon consonants." Schipper (*History of English Versification*, p. 14) says that the "harmony or consonance of the unlike vowels is hardly perceptible in modern English and does not count as an alliteration." Classen, in his recent work, *Vowel Alliteration in the Old Germanic Languages* (p. 41), says that "in modern English, vowel alliteration appears to have reached the stage of alliteration for the eye, as in such a phrase as 'Apt alliteration's artful aid.'" I add to these opinions a characteristic passage from Professor Saintsbury's *History of English Prosody* (pp. 396-397) :

"Alliteration, to be genuine and effective, must, as it seems to me, rest upon consonants, just as rhyme must (again as it seems to me) rest upon vowels. The old vowel alliteration was an obvious 'easement' when the thing *had* to be done at any cost, and it may have had attractions in Anglo-Saxon which we do not appreciate now. But the rapid desertion of it in Middle English, and its almost total failure to appear in Modern, would seem to show that it has no real reason of being now. Before writing this, and in order not to trust too much to a general memory, I have looked over many pages of Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, and Tennyson, the four poets most likely to have used the effect consciously or unconsciously, if it exists. I find few traces of it at all, and none that seem to have any particular lesson for us. Even

so strong an instance of identical vowel alliteration (and it need not, as most people know, be identical) as

Of old Olympus (P. L., vii, 7),

does not, to my ear at least, produce any special effect, good or bad: one neither welcomes it nor wishes it away. In the great line of Oenone—

Idalian Aphrodite beautiful—

there may seem, at first hearing, to be something gained by the vowel alliteration; but a very little reflection will, I think, show that the harmony in contrast of the two initial syllables is quite independent of their having no consonant before them, that it is, in fact, a case of 'Vowel Music' (as I call it below), not of alliteration at all."

I have quoted Professor Saintsbury at this length not only because he illustrates in one way the comment I have made upon students of prosody, but also because the passage furnishes me by opposition the theses of my paper. I wish, that is, to show (1) that alliteration may be as genuine and effective when it rests upon vowels as when it rests upon consonants; (2) that it is a phenomenon distinct from vowel music, or vowel melody, though like consonant alliteration always conjoined with it; (3) that it is fairly common in modern poetry, particularly in Milton and Tennyson. And incidentally I wish to ascertain what it is in modern vowel alliteration that constitutes the alliterating element.

I shall begin with some simple instances. It may first be noted that many familiar phrases derive their idiomatic force from what seems to be vowel alliteration; thus, "ins and outs," "upward and onward," "odds and ends," "odd and even," "andy over," "off and on," "up and at 'em," "ifs and ans," "give an inch and take an ell," "from Alfred to Omaha" (a popular perversion of "from Alpha to Omega"). The title of Poe's story "The Angel of the Odd" derives a part of its oddity from the alliteration of the vowels. Allen Upward seems as alliterative as Simple Simon. Nine persons out of ten, asked abruptly for an instance of alliteration of any kind, will respond by quot-

ing Churchill's line, "Apt alliteration's artful aid," and perhaps the tenth will recall "An Austrian army awfully arrayed." In all of these cases the curious and significant thing is that the words with initial vowels seem (at any rate to my ear) actually to alliterate. When I say to myself, "Apt alliteration's artful aid," I am sensible not only of changes in the quality of the vowels, but also of the repetition of an initial effect quite as characteristic as that of the initial consonants in "Boldly by battery besieged Belgrade," or "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers." The alliteration, in other words, even in this rather cheap form, seems to be both genuine and effective.¹

Nor when we pass to higher forms of expression does vowel alliteration seem to lose its value. Of the four poets mentioned by Professor Saintsbury I have examined for the purposes of this paper only Milton and Tennyson. These poets, whose fondness for consonantal alliteration is at all times marked and frequently is excessive, seem to me to be equally, or proportionately, fond of alliteration by vowels. Of the 10,565 lines of *Paradise Lost*, 670, or 6.2%, contain each two or more accented alliterating vowels. Of lines which show vowel alliteration, but in which one of the initial vowels is unaccented, there are in the whole poem 517. The total number of internally alliterating lines is, therefore, 1187, or 11.2% of the whole. The following are examples, the alliterating vowels in a single line varying from two to five:

(2 vowels) Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield. (i, 565.)

(3 vowels) Author and end of all things, and from work. (vii, 591.)
Me, me only, just object of his ire. (x, 936.)

(4 vowels) Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbs. (xi, 119.)
I also erred in overmuch admiring. (ix, 1078.)

¹ It is, of course, impossible to compel any one, except by process of torture, and not always then, to say that he recognizes a mooted prosodic force or element if he wishes to withhold his assent. All that can be done in any case is to set forth one's own reactions and see to what extent they agree with the experiences of others.

(5 vowels) O Eve, in evil hour thou did'st give ear. (ix, 1067.)

The angel ended, and in Adam's ear. (viii, 1.)

Cases in which the alliterating words are in successive lines instead of in the same line are naturally much more numerous. Thus in Book I, the number of lines that contain an effective initial vowel that alliterates with an effective vowel in a preceding or following line, is 223 in a total of 798 lines. I quote a few examples at random:

Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening. (i, 287-8.)

And gentle airs due at this hour
To fan the earth, now waked, and usher in
The evening cool.

Will he so wise let loose at once his ire,
Belike through impotence or unaware,
To give his enemies their wish, and end
Them in his anger whom his anger saves
To punish endless. (ii, 156.)

The following table shows the number of lines in *Paradise Lost* that have vowel alliteration within the line. Under A is given the number of lines that have two or more accented alliterations, under B the number of lines that have one accented alliteration and one or more unaccented.²

Book	Lines	Number of		Percent. Percent.	
		A	B	A	B
I	798	52	38	6.5	4.7
II	1055	58	55	5.4	5.2
III	742	42	43	5.6	5.7
IV	1015	72	38	7.0	3.7
V	907	55	46	6.0	4.9
VI	912	50	55	5.4	6.0
VII	640	34	32	5.3	5.0
VIII	653	47	32	7.1	4.9
IX	1189	95	58	7.9	4.8
X	1104	65	54	5.8	4.9
XI	901	65	38	7.2	4.2
XII	649	35	28	5.4	4.3
	10565	670	517	6.2	4.8

² Of consonantal alliterations, the number in Book I, reckoned in the same way, is as follows: A, 161; B, 22; percentage of A-alliterations, 20; percentage of B-alliterations, 2.7.

Tennyson, although he employs vowel alliteration more conservatively than Milton, has still an evident fondness for it. An examination of certain of Tennyson's poems gives the following results: *In Memoriam*—Number of stanzas, 750; stanzas showing vowel alliteration, 80; percentage, 10.6. *Locksley Hall*—Number of couplets, 97; couplets showing vowel alliteration, 13; percentage, 13.4. *Palace of Art*—Number of stanzas, 74; stanzas showing vowel alliteration, 15; percentage, 20.2. *The Two Voices*—Number of stanzas, 154; stanzas showing vowel alliteration, 27; percentage, 17.5. In the *Battle of Brunanburh*, where Tennyson aims to reproduce the alliterative effect of the original, there are 15 vowel-alliterating lines out of a total of 125. The longer poems, as the *Princess* and the *Idylls of the King*, as far as I have examined them, show a smaller percentage.

Many of Tennyson's most characteristic effects are secured by means of this kind of alliteration, as

The warrior Earl of Allendale
He loved the Lady Anne.
(*The Foresters*, Act I.)
I never ate with angrier appetite.
(*Geraint and Enid*.)
To dying ears when unto dying eyes,
(*The Princess*.)
And all the phantom, Nature, stands—
With all the music in her tone,
A hollow echo of my own,—
A hollow form with empty hands.
That all, as in some piece of art
Is toil co-operant to an end.
(*In Memoriam*.)

That these collocations of initial vowel sounds are the result not of chance but of design is apparent from the instances in which they are artfully conjoined in the same line or group of lines with alliterating consonants. Consider Tennyson's line, "I the heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time" (*Locksley Hall*), or "Author, essayist, atheist, novelist, realist, rhymester, play your part" (*Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*), or "Is there evil but on earth? or pain in every peopled sphere?" (*Ibid.*), or "Round as the red eye of an eagle-owl"

(*Gareth and Lynette*). It seems clear that in each of these cases the vowel alliteration in one half of the line is intended to balance the consonant alliteration in the other half.³ Nor are there lacking examples of crossed alliteration, as in

Ancient founts of inspiration well through all my fancy yet. (*Locksley Hall*.)

From these instances we may fairly conclude that the poet has treated alliterating vowels precisely as he has treated alliterating consonants.

There is the possibility, however, that those who think these lines are genuinely and effectively alliterative deceive themselves, and that the effects are really due to what Professor Saintsbury calls vowel music. We must therefore examine the latter term for a moment and distinguish it from vowel alliteration.

Vowel music (or, better, vowel melody) is a quasi-tune resulting from an artful sequence of vowel sounds. It is composed of several factors, of which may be mentioned (1) the natural difference of pitch of the vowels, which enables one to arrange them in a sort of scale; (2) the differences in vowel quality due to overtones; (3) the association of certain vowel sounds and sequences of vowel sounds with corresponding emotional states; (4) the kinesthetic effect due to the muscular action involved in shifting from one position of the vocal organs to another.

The presence of these factors gives a distinctly melodic effect that is often pleasing to the ear. Moreover, this melody usually corresponds in a delicate and subtle fashion to the sequence of moods and images that the poem is intended to arouse. Thus, to take a simple instance, the sequence ee-aw frequently has a suggestion of humor, as in "see-saw," "fee-

³ Compare Browning's

Armies of angels that soar, legions of demons that lurk. (*Abt Vogler*.)

The same device on a larger scale is seen in Milton's lines (*Paradise Lost*, i, 371-373):

Oft to the image of a brute, adorned
With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
And devils to adore for deities.

faw-fum," "Jimmie McGee McGaw," and the like. Here the effect may be traced to the sudden shifting from the high-front-unrounded to the low-back-rounded position, together with the lowering in pitch; though association with the "hee-haw" of the ass's horrible bray doubtless plays a part. At all events, through the operation of such factors as these the poet, by deftly arranging the vowel sequences, may consciously or unconsciously compose an elaborate vowel melody. To the examples cited by Professor Saintsbury may be added Tennyson's "I alone awake," with its lovely minor cadence, and Milton's

Death
Grinned horrible a ghastly smile,

where the vowels seem to execute a kind of *danse macabre* as an accompaniment to the hideous imagery.

None of these factors, however, resemble, except remotely, the factors of alliteration, consonantal or vocalic. While vowel melody is in general a series of disparates, alliteration, like rhyme, is essentially repetitive. Its characteristic and indispensable feature appears to be the repetition of an identical sound at the beginning of a word or syllable.

But if all alliteration is a repetition of an initial sound, what can it be in such a phrase as "Apt alliteration's artful aid" that actually alliterates? Clearly, it is not the quality of the vowel, for that shifts with each word in the sequence. What common element then is left? To answer this question we may bring forward two alternative theories: (1) that the recurrent element is simply the sonority of the initial vowel; (2) that the recurrent element is a sound that is not represented in the spelling of the word, but is nevertheless always present at the beginning of it, namely, the glottal catch.⁴

⁴The theory of Axel Kock, that all vowel alliteration in old English poetry was originally a repetition of the same vowel, need not concern us here, for identical vowel alliteration in modern English poetry is so rare as to be almost negligible. In the 10,565 lines of *Paradise Lost* there are but 10 cases of identical alliteration within the line, barring repetitions of the same word.

The sonority theory assumes that, in spite of the great difference in the position of the vocal organs in pronouncing the different vowel sounds, there is a common element in these sounds which so powerfully impresses the ear that any vowel or diphthong appears to be a repetition of any other vowel or diphthong. When we ask what this element is, some difficulty is found in framing a satisfactory reply. Sonority, as Classen has pointed out, is only a phonetic abstraction. It is present in consonants as well as vowels, and, unfortunately for the theory, sonorous consonants do not alliterate with vowel sounds in the slightest degree. The embarrassing question may also be asked, Why, if all vowels alliterate with one another because of their vocality, should not all consonants alliterate with one another by virtue of their consonantality?—and to this question there is as yet no answer.

The second theory, that of the glottal catch, though it has not before been applied, so far as I am aware, to modern poetry, seems a happy solution of the difficulty. The glottal catch is simply the pressing together or overlapping of the vocal cords in such a way as to effect a complete stoppage of the breath. It is heard in an extreme form in coughing or clearing the throat or in pronouncing that expletive which we spell awkwardly *ahem*, but in its simplest form it is the starting point of every initial vowel that is uttered with emphasis. In order to secure what the singer calls "attack," that is, the launching of the vowel with full force, it is necessary, in all highly emotional expression, to pen up the breath behind the glottis and then force the glottis open with a kind of explosion. As Jespersen says (*Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, p. 78), the glottal catch is "the way in which everybody naturally begins a vowel when he speaks with a certain effort, as, for example, when he takes especial pains to imitate the vowel sounds of a foreign language." In some languages the glottal catch is an essential element of speech. Among the North Germans all accented initial (and many accented internal) vowels are normally preceded by it.

In England the initial glottal catch is said by Jespersen to be wholly unknown, and Sweet

regards it as a significant mark of difference between English as spoken in England and the German of North Germany. Although I hesitate to set my poor observations against those of two so eminent phoneticians, I shall venture the assertion that a quite unmistakable glottal catch may be heard in the speech of almost every Englishman when he speaks with energy or abruptness.⁵ There is a well-known story which I may use to illustrate the contention. An American and an Englishman are traveling in a third-class carriage in England together with a woman and her child. It is lunch time, and the boy says to his mother, "Maw, give me some 'am.'" "'Am,'" replies the mother, scornfully, "you mustn't say 'am, you must say 'am.'" When they get out at the next station, the Englishman, who has been holding himself in with difficulty, bursts into a guffaw. "She thought she was a-sayin' 'am and she was only a-sayin' 'am.'" I have heard several Englishmen tell that story and in each case, if my ears did not deceive me, the supposedly more refined pronunciation was distinguished by a glottal catch.

Throughout America the glottal catch is fairly common in ordinary speech. It is used by every American when he is tired, and in the Middle West it is an almost invariable accompaniment of stressed initial vowels. In my classes in the University this year there is no student who does not use it freely and noticeably in forcible or excited speech. One student from Detroit, with no foreign influence in the family life, uses it at the beginning of every

⁵ Cf. L. P. H. Eijkman's "Notes on English Pronunciation" in *Die Neueren Sprachen*, xvii, 443, and Daniel Jones's comment, *Ibid.*, p. 571. Eijkman and Jones agree that the glottal catch is not uncommon in normal English speech, and the former quotes the letter written by Lloyd to Viëtor in 1894 (Viëtor, *Elemente d. Phonetik*, § 30, Anm. 5): "I have not noticed any specific substitution of 'glottal catch' for a dropt *h*; but I do notice that 'clear beginning,' sometimes forcible enough to be called 'glottal catch,' exists largely in England in certain positions, e. g. (a) when another vowel, especially a very similar vowel, precedes—(b) when a strong emphasis is intended. A speaker laboring under suppressed passion uses unconsciously the 'clear beginning.'"

initial vowel, and of many internal vowels, precisely as does a North German.

If we grant the presence of the glottal catch in sufficient measure to gratify the ear of poet and hearer, and its use consciously or unconsciously as prosodic material, the problem of vowel alliteration is greatly simplified. Vowel alliteration in the strict sense of the term simply disappears and in its place there is a sort of consonant alliteration. However the vowel may be varied, the glottal catch remains virtually the same and supplies the common element essential to all alliterative repetition.

My conclusions are then: (1) that vowel alliteration in the sense of the significant repetition of the same initial vowel sound occurs so rarely in modern English poetry that it may for our present purpose be disregarded; (2) that sonority is too vague and abstract to serve as alliterative material, though it may act as a reinforcement; (3) that vowel melody, although it is an important prosodic phenomenon, is wholly distinct in its means and effects from alliteration; and, finally (4) that the alliterative effect of initial vowels may be due to the repetition of the glottal catch, which, either as a sound or as an innervation of the muscles contracting the glottis, is probably present in some degree before all vowels that are pronounced with feeling or energy.

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NOTES ON MÉRÉ

Seldom has the identity of a writer been so difficult to establish as has that of Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré. Confused even during his own lifetime with a contemporary, the marquis de Méré, chevalier de Saint-Michel, the writer Méré was in the eighteenth century adorned with the latter's patronymic appellation and enshrined as George(s) Brossin in historical and bibliographical dictionaries, cyclopedias, general biographies, and histories of

literature. As such he often persists even today. Georges Brossin had distinguished himself by his brilliant conduct at the battle of Gigeri, in Barbary, and had had his name in the *Gazette extraordinaire* (August 28, 1664). So the chevalier de Méré is represented as fighting pirates in the East.¹ He has also been confused sometimes with one of his own brothers, Plassac. The story of the efforts made by Lainé, Paulin Paris, and Philippe Tamizey de Larroque to enlighten the literary public, as well as of the mistakes regarding Méré's identity committed by Sainte-Beuve, François Collot, etc., is told by Ch. Revillout in his work *Antoine Gombault, chevalier de Méré, sa famille, son frère et ses amis illustres*, published in 1877.² Ten years before this time Méré's full identity had begun to be a rich subject for conjecture and investigation among the scholars of southwestern France. Those interested represented different classes of society, some of them being the marquis de Rochâve, Beauchet-Filleau, author of the *Dictionnaire du Poitou*, Théophile de Brémont d'Ars, of Saintonge (using the pseudonym "Maltouche"), and Dr. C. Sauzé, of Poitou. Articles by these men were published in the *Revue de l'Aunis, de la Saintonge et du Poitou*—the dates being respectively December 25, 1867; March 25 and July 25, 1868; and January 25, 1869—and were gathered together into one collection by the comte Anatole de Brémont d'Ars. It is interesting to note that a reprint of Sauzé's article, sent by the author to Sainte-Beuve, is in the Boston Public Library: *Le nom du chevalier de Méré*, etc., in-8, 14 pp.

With the first number of the *Bulletin de la Société des archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, in 1879, the discussion regarding the chevalier de Méré's family was resumed. M. Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique* for the seventeenth century names as a source of in-

¹ *La Grande Encyclopédie* says: "en 1664, on le trouve faisant partie de l'expédition navale du duc de Beaufort contre les pirates de Gigeri;" Larousse: ". . . il accompagna le duc de Beaufort dans son expédition contre les pirates de Gigeri; puis il quitta le service vers 1645 et vint à Paris," etc.

² In-4, 56 pp.

formation regarding Méré the above-mentioned *Bulletin* for 1883–1884. To that reference should be added the same *Bulletin* for 1876–1879 (Vol. I), 1880 (Vol. II), 1894 (Vol. XIV), and 1895 (Vol. XV). Various scholars contributed from time to time during several years questions or information and all emphasized the fact that the writer Méré was Antoine Gombaud. Notwithstanding this, much ignorance concerning his true identity persisted among students of seventeenth-century literature. In 1882 Nourrisson confused him with Georges Brossin, as we may see from *Le Correspondant* for April–June, 1882, "Pascal et le chevalier de Méré." This mistake on the part of so prominent a person as a professor at the Collège de France and a member of the Institute, quite wounded the feelings of the scholars of southwestern France.³ Fabre also was one to sin (*Les Ennemis de Chapelain*, 1888, p. 329), and again the writer Méré's real name was announced.⁴ A groan was uttered by our zealous genealogists in 1895,⁵ when it was seen that Gabriel Compayré, rector of the Academy of Poitiers, in his work *Galerie française*⁶ had consecrated an article to "Méré, Georges Brossin"!

After so much discussion of the chevalier de Méré's identity, it was a little surprising to find a modern scholar like M. Faguet confusing him with Georges Brossin (see *Revue hebdomadaire des cours et conférences*, March 26, 1896, "Le chevalier de Méré"). His information was evidently taken from Sainte-Beuve.

M. Fortunat Strowski in his comparatively recent work *Pascal et son temps* repeats the old mistake about Méré's going to Barbary, being wounded there, and having his name in the *Gazette*.⁷ M. Strowski states also that Méré visited America.⁸ This cannot be proved. The letter of Méré's brother Plassac written in 1626

³ See *Bull. S. Arch. H. S. et Aunis*, 1880–1882 (Vol. III), p. 360. Having been set right, Nourrisson replied thanking his critics [*ibid.*, janvier 1883–avril 1884 (Vol. IV), pp. 57–58].

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1888 (Vol. VIII), p. 355.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 12.

⁶ Vienne–Paris, 1894.

⁷ See 2^e Partie, 3^e éd., 1910, p. 253.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

to a chevalier de Malte who had gone on a trip to the antipodes⁹ might be written to a brother, and this brother might be the chevalier, as M. Revillout suggests.¹⁰ It seems, however, more probable that it is written to a friend, for whom the protestations of friendship are most exaggerated. And it is probably a fictitious friend. For in another letter,¹¹ published in the same collection in which this one appears, M. de Plassac says to the editor of the *Recueil*, regarding the letters which "a friend" of his has sent this editor: "Quoy qu'il en soit, il peut bien se consoler d'avoir fait de mauvais songes, puis que le jour ne les a jamais veus, et que vous estes le seul témoin devant lequel il ait encor failli." M. Morillot states that Méré had seen Françoise d'Aubigné in America.¹² But this assertion is based upon the assumption that Méré was the author of the *note anonyme*,¹³ when this was probably Cabart de Villermont.¹⁴ False hypotheses lead M. Strowski to the conclusion¹⁵ that Méré's life was "une vie de tempête," and that Pascal in declaring the life "la plus agréable aux grands esprits" to be "la vie tumultuaire" was faithful perhaps to the spirit of his "master" (Méré).

Saintonge, Poitou, and Angoumois have all claimed the honor of giving birth to Antoine Gombaud. In his fine study of this writer published in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire*,¹⁶ entitled *Pascal et Méré à propos d'un manuscrit inédit*, M. Ch.-H. Boudhors infers from the fact that Méré was baptized in the Bouex (Angoumois) church that he was probably born at his father's old home, the castle of Méré in Bouex.¹⁷ But the oldest of the Gombaud children, the sister Françoise, was married in this same church seven years later (December 17,

1621).¹⁸ So by the same method of reasoning we must conclude that the Gombauds did not live in Poitou at Baussay before the father's death, March 29, 1620. Might we not as reasonably infer that it was the family custom to return to the old castle of Méré for such events as christenings and marriages, and would not the fact that Antoine was christened at the rather advanced age of seven years and seven months go to show that the family lived at a distance?

His godmother, Gabrielle-Jehanne d'Agès, wife of "messire" Charles de Courbon, was a family connection.¹⁹ There was probably some tie of relationship, too, between Méré and his godfather, Antoine de La Rochefoucauld, bishop of Angoulême. M. Boudhors is impressed with the fact that the ms. in the Bibliothèque Mazarine represents Méré as enjoying the patronage of the La Rochefoucaulds.²⁰ And Tallemant would lead us to believe that Méré's mother, owning an estate in Poitou, could hardly escape being related by some tie of kinship to the La Rochefoucauld clan. "Au siège de la Rochelle," says this chronicler, "M. de la Rochefoucault, alors gouverneur de Poitou, eut ordre d'assembler la noblesse de son gouvernement. En quatre jours, il assemble quinze cents gentilshommes, et dit au Roy: 'Sire, il n'y en a pas un qui ne soit mon parent.'"²¹ Let us feel sure that there will be found some day an *acte, procuration, inventaire* or other *pièce* which will prove that Méré belonged to this army of the La Rochefoucauld connections.

A propos of family relationships, Mme de la Bazinière, the clever wife of the *trésorier de l'Epargne*, was connected to Méré, distantly but surely. When Méré's parents were married, in 1597, his mother's father, Paul de Maillé de La Tour-Landry, was dead, and the widow, Françoise de Constance, was married to a Fran-

⁹ See *Recueil de lettres nouvelles par Faret*, Paris, 1634, p. 442.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹ *Lettre IV.*

¹² See *Scarron et le genre burlesque*, 1888, p. 71.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 403 ff.

¹⁴ See *Revue des questions historiques*, 28^e année, T. X, 1893, pp. 124 ff., article by A. de Boislisle.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 276-277.

¹⁶ 20^e année, 1913, pp. 24-50 and 379-405.

¹⁷ P. 35, note 2.

¹⁸ See *Bull. S. Arch. H. S. et Aunis*, XIV, p. 36.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, XIV, p. 349; XV, p. 4; the genealogy given by Rochâve in Coll. Brémont d'Ars, p. 22; and C. Sauzé, *ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁰ *Revue cited*, note 2, pp. 40-41.

²¹ *Les Historiettes*, 3^e éd., par Monmerqué et Paulin Paris, II, p. 20.

çois de Barbezières, seigneur de Chemerauld.²² And Mme de la Bazinière was, as we know, Françoise de Barbezière, "demoiselle de Chemerault," her father being Geoffroy de Barbezière, "sieur de la Roche-Chemerault," a younger son. The picture of this "demoiselle de Chemerault" painted for us by contemporaries is not altogether pleasing; but the Barbezières were a good old family of Poitou, this young woman was maid-in-waiting to the queen, and it may have been through the Chemerault connection that Méré obtained his early introduction to court society.²³ Françoise de Barbezière was married in 1645. M. Boudhors does not seem to notice the family connection, and he makes of Mme de la Bazinière Méré's mistress.²⁴ He does not tell us his authority for this, but I can find in Méré's words to this lady in his *Lettre 145*—"l'honneur de vous être quelque chose me semble précieux"—only an allusion to the family relationship. With Mme de la Bazinière's husband Méré was "sans réserve,"²⁵ and he divided his homage between the two daughters, Mme de Mesme(s) (Marguerite Bertrand; married in 1660 to Jean-Jacques de Mesmes, comte d'Avaux) and her younger sister, the Mlle de la Bazinière to whom Mme de Sévigné alludes October 28, 1671, as a "jeune nymphe de quinze ans, . . . façonnière et coquette en perfection." Méré counsels the young girl regarding her manners and morals, and wishes to cultivate her older sister, that the somewhat too natural lady may become through his science "la Dame la plus parfaite, et l'enchanteresse la plus agréable que le monde ait jamais vuë." In short, he is the family friend. Five of his letters we know to have been written to Mme de Mesme(s), while but three are addressed to the mother.

Speaking of Méré's relations to women M. Boudhors says: "Il est bien certain, défaut

²² See the *procuration* quoted in the *Bull. S. Arch. H. S. et Aunis*, XIV, p. 36.

²³ "J'ay esté à la cour dès mon enfance," he is represented as saying in the ms. (4556, 3^e liasse, Bibl. Maz.), p. 57.

²⁴ *Revue* cited, p. 405.

²⁵ See his *Lettre 7, A Mademoiselle de la Bazinière*.

ou qualité, qu'il y a chez lui un observateur délié, curieux, attendri, de l'esprit et du cœur féminins."²⁶ The reason for this is that in women Méré found a delicacy of mind which did not seem to him so common among men; and women too, he thought, show more grace in what they do and have a finer understanding of the art of doing things well than men.²⁷ They were, therefore, more amenable to the principles of *honnêteté* and proved readier pupils in acquiring the art or science of which he was master, that of the *bienséances*. Once in writing about women he remarks: ". . . je n'en ay jamais pratiqué une seule qui ne soit devenuë plus honnête et plus agreable qu'elle n'estoit avant que je l'eusse vuë."²⁸ Notwithstanding this by no means modest assertion, his views about women are liberal and his reasoning in regard to the attitude of his day towards the "woman question" is interesting. "On ne veut pas que les femmes soient habiles, dit le Chevalier, et je ne sçai pourquoi; si ce n'est peut-être à cause qu'on les louë assez d'ailleurs, et qu'elles sont belles."²⁹

This idea that the world is sparing of its praise and that superiority in many respects will not be accorded to the same person, is a favorite one of Méré. He continues the above remark by saying: "Car le monde se plaist à retrancher d'un costé ce qu'il ne peut refuser de l'autre, et s'il est contraint d'avouer qu'un homme est fort brave, il ne sera pas d'accord que ce soit un fort honnête homme, quand il seroit encore plus honnête que brave." Compare also the Preface of the *Conversations*, etc., where he says: "J'éleve mon sujet d'un costé après l'avoir abaissé d'un autre, etc.;" *De l'Esprit*, p. 6: "Je remarque aussi que le monde est un grand mesnager de louanges, et cela vient de ce qu'on ne s'arreste guere à regarder qu'une seule chose en un sujet, et que d'ailleurs on ne veut pas qu'une même personne se puisse vanter d'avoir tous les avantages;" *ibid.*, p. 7: "Cesar estoit plus eloquent que Ciceron, . . .

²⁶ *Revue* cited, p. 405, note 1.

²⁷ See the *Conversations D.M.D.C.E.D.C.D.M.*, *Première Conversation*.

²⁸ *Lettre 146, A Madame xxx.*

²⁹ *Conversations*, etc., *loc. cit.*

Mais parce qu'il excelloit dans la guerre, peu de gens s'entretiennent de son eloquence, et l'on admire celle de Ciceron, à cause qu'il n'avoit rien que cela de fort recommandable;" and elsewhere in his writings. La Rochefoucauld reasons in a manner somewhat similar: "Nous élevons la gloire des uns pour abaisser celle des autres, et quelquefois on loueroit moins Monsieur le Prince et M. de Turenne, si on ne les vouloit point blâmer tous deux."³⁰

Regarding Méré's works, the third edition of the *Conversations*, etc. (mentioned by M. Strowski as the first),³¹ "augmentée d'un Discours de la Justesse," is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in two forms, both numbered Z, 20138. These two volumes are identical, except that one has 291 pp. numbered, of which the *Conversations*, etc., occupy 187, and the other 345 pp., the *Conversations*, etc., occupying 289. The 1689 edition of the *Lettres* was not the first,³² these letters having been published in 1682; but the second edition is an exact copy of the first.

A little work which I have seen but once attributed to Méré is *Les Avantures de Renaud et d'Armide*.³³ There is no name in the *privilège*, but we may be sure the volume is from Méré's pen for the following reasons: he alludes to Renaud and Armide in *Lettres* 14 (*A Monsieur de xxxx*) and 110 (*A Monsieur*, where he relates his adventure with Armide); to Renaud, in *Lettre* 24 (*A Monsieur de xxx*) and to Armide in *Lettre* 90 (*A Madame de Mesmes*). In the *Au lecteur* of this book, too, the writer states that in composing a small volume of these adventures, taken from Tasso's *G. l.*, he has translated little but has followed exactly Tasso's plan. This is the same sentiment regarding translation which we find in Méré's *Lettre* 34, where he sends to the duchesse de Lesdiguières

³⁰ See *Oeuvres*, T. I, 1868 (Les Grands Écrivains de la France), p. 109, and note 5.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 248-249.

³² See again M. Strowski, *loc. cit.*

³³ Par M. L. C. D. M. A Paris, chez Claude Barbin, 1687, in-12°. (Bib. Nat., Y, 75041). The book has 205 pp. The *privilège* was given August 12, 1677, and the *achevé d'imprimer* bears the date October 4, 1677.

an adventure taken from Petronius (*Lettre*: "non pas toujours comme il est dans l'original;" here, "sans traduire que fort peu de chose"). In the *Lettre*, too, he says: "si celui qui traduit a plus d'esprit et de goût, et plus d'adresse à s'expliquer que l'Autheur qu'il a pris à traduire, je ne voy pas que rien puisse empêcher que la traduction ne l'emporte;" here, we read: "il faudroit leur disputer tout l'avantage de bien écrire, et tâcher d'aller du pair avec eux, et mesme de les preceder."

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ZU MINNESANGS FRÜHLING

7, 1. Sievers Herstellung *vil lieben friunt verliesen* ist wohl der Vorzug zu geben, einmal weil diese dem *friunt* der Hs. näher steht und dann weil *verliesen* am besten zu passen scheint, da es hier doch hauptsächlich auf die Antithese ankommt: *verliesen—schedelich, behalten—loblich*, ähnlich wie Erek 5071 f.:

ja ist ein friunt bezzer vlorn
bescheidenlichen unde wol
dan behalten anders danne er sol.

Vgl. W. Weise, *Die Sentenz bei Hartmann von Aue*, Marburg, 1910, S. 69.

12, 2. "Swer werden wiben dienen sol, der sol semelichen varn." So liest Vogt nach der Hs. B, obwohl er den Ausdruck *semelichen varn* als 'ziemlich hölzern' charakterisiert. Mit dem *seliclichen* der Hs. C ist gar nichts anzufangen, auch befriedigt weder Pfeiffers *schemelichen* noch Pauls *senelichen*. Das von E. Schröder ZfdA. 33, 100 vorgeschlagene *seinelichen* hat dieser mit Recht nachträglich zurückgenommen, trotzdem hat es bei Bartsch-Golther, *Liederdichter*⁴ Aufnahme gefunden; vgl. AfdA. 27, 227. Als eine sich fast von selbst ergebende Besserung, schlage ich vor *gemellichen* zu lesen: ' . . . der sol guter Laune sein.' Dieser Satz wird durch die sich anschliessenden Zeilen dieser spruchartigen

Strophe folgendermassen begründet: er muss "seneliche swære tragen verholne in dem herzen; er sol ez niemanne sagen," d. h. wer den Frauen gefallen will, darf kein saures Gesicht machen, sondern muss sich ihnen gegenüber stets munter zeigen, mag er auch mitunter schweres Leid zu tragen haben; er soll nichts davon verspüren lassen. In einem Reinmar zugeschriebenen Lied (MF. 199, 25) wird gerade die Heiterkeit des Geliebten gepriesen:

man sô guoten,
baz gemuoten,
hân ich selten mè gesehen,
im gelîchen,
noch sô gemelltichen,
bi dem für die swære
bezzer fröide wäre.

18, 28. Hauptsächlich weil sie 'eine sonst nicht belegbare auffällige Wendung' voraussetzt, hat Vogt Haupts Besserung dieser Stelle verworfen und aus dem *vñ anherschat* von B *des andern schaden* in den Text gesetzt. Was das eigentlich heissen soll, weiss ich nicht. Unter Streichung des *vñ* wäre man versucht zu lesen "... wäre, an der man schaden nie erkös," aber hiegegen sprechen solche Verse wie z. B. Moriz von Craon 295 f. "swer stætectlichen minnet, wie vil der gewinnet beide schaden und arebeit." Vogts Bedenken gegen Haupts *harnschar* kann ich nicht teilen, denn, wie mir scheint, passt gerade hier der stärkere Ausdruck. Wiewohl man von der Minne nicht präzisieren konnte, dass sie *schaden nie erkös*, geht dies in Bezug auf *harnschar* doch sehr wohl an: Minne bringt Leid (Schaden), aber nie Entehrung. Zudem lässt sich der Ausdruck *harnschar erkiesen* wenigstens einmal belegen, nämlich in Ulrichs *Lanzelet* 1012 f.: "torst ich an iuch erbalden, daz ich iuwern vater nicht verlür, ein harnschar ich dar umbe erkür, daz ich gevangen wär ein jâr." Also ist die alte Haupt'sche Lesung wieder herzustellen.—18, 25 braucht man nicht mit Schönbach, *Die älteren Minnesänger*, Wien, 1899, S. 9 *mære = Predigt* zu fassen, sondern es kann sich, wie Scherer, DSt. II, S. 36 annimmt, um Anlehnung an die Epik handeln; vgl. MF. 14, 26: "Ich hân vernomen ein *mære*."

127, 34 f. "EZ ist site der nahtegal, swan

si ir liet volendet, sô geswîget sie." So lautet in den älteren Ausgaben im Anschluss an die Hss. CC^a die bekannte Stelle bei Heinrich von Morungen. Dass hier die Überlieferung nicht in Ordnung sein kann, wurde von verschiedener Seite erkannt und so ist die Stelle bereits vielfach Gegenstand der Erörterung gewesen. Ein Dichter wie der Morunger wird sich kaum einer so sinnlosen Tautologie schuldig gemacht haben.

Einem Lese- oder Druckfehler von Bodmer folgend, setzte Bartsch, *Liederdichter*, *leit* statt *liet* ein. Ein anderer Heilungsversuch ist der von E. Schröder, der ZfdA, 33, 105 *zit* zu lesen vorschlug, was einen erträglichen Sinn ergibt, aber sich anderseits doch zu weit von der Überlieferung entfernt. Dass die Korruptel nicht im Nomen, sondern im Verbum stecke, suchte Schönbach S. 123 f. zu beweisen. Hierbei stützt er seine Ausführungen auf den volkstümlichen Glauben, dass die Nachtigall sich zu Tode singe, wofür er Belege aus Plinius *Hist. nat.* sowie Konrad von Megenberg's *Buch der Natur* anführt, und schlägt demnach vor *geswînet* statt *geswîget* zu lesen; so auch Golther in den neuen Auflagen von Bartsch. Gegen diese Besserung hat man den berechtigten Einwand gemacht, dass das Wort *liet* niemals vom Gesang der Vögel gebraucht wurde (ausser vielleicht bei dem späten Wildonie, wo aber das Lied des Dichters, wie Schröder bemerkte, dem Vogel in den Schnabel gesteckt wird; vgl. Lexer I, 1914), sondern vorwiegend ein strophisches, oder auch episches Gedicht bezeichnete.

Das Richtige hat ohne Zweifel schon Hildebrand ZfdPh. 2, 257 getroffen, da er für das *liet* der Hss. *liep* einsetzte, eine Emendation, die Burdach, *Reinmar und Walther* S. 50 billigte, und welche auch von Vogt mit Recht aufgenommen worden ist. Hier ist *liep* mit 'Minnefreude, Liebeslust' zu übersetzen, wie aus den von Vogt beigebrachten Parallelen klar hervorgeht, und die Stelle steht in schönstem Einklang mit der weitverbreiteten Ansicht, dass nach der Brutzeit der Gesang der Nachtigall verstumme; vgl. die Stelle aus Vincentius Bellovacensis bei Schönbach S. 124 sowie Vogts Anmerkung.

Zur weiteren Bestätigung der Richtigkeit dieser Lesart, möchte ich auf eine etwas abseits vom Wege liegende Parallel, nämlich eine Stelle des frühmittelenglischen Streitgedichts *The Owl and the Nightingale* (ed. Wells, Boston, 1907), verweisen. Unter den Unarten, welche die Eule der Nachtigall vorwirft, heisst es nach der älteren Hs. V. 507 f.

wane þi lust is a-go,
þonne is þi song a-go also.
A sumere chorles a-wedeb
& uor-crempeþ & uor-bredeb:
his nis for luue nobeles,
ac is þe chorles wode res;
vor wane he haueþ i-do his dede,
i-fallen is al his bold-hede,
habbe he is tunge under gore,
ne last his luue no leng more.
Al so his is on þine mode:
so sone so þu sittest abrode,
þu for-lost al þine wise.
al so þu farest on þine rise:
wane þu hauest i-do þi gome,
þi steune goþ anon to shome.

Bemerkenswert ist dabei auch die Übereinstimmung von me. *lust* = mhd. *liep* in der hier angenommenen Bedeutung.

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DEPUIS WITH THE COMPOUND TENSES

In grammars intended for English-speaking students it is rightly considered necessary to devote special attention to the use of the simple tenses with *depuis*. A typical statement of the case for the present tense is the following: "In referring to an action beginning in the past and still unfinished in the present, the present tense is used in French after *depuis*, *il y a*, etc." (Thieme and Effinger, Macmillan, 1908.) There is no serious objection to the use of such a rule in the class room, provided the teacher is not led astray by this simplified

generalization. A warning must be sounded, however, against the wording found in a recent textbook: "Since the compound tenses all express *completed* action, action *continuing* at the time in mind must be expressed by a simple tense" (Snow, *Fundamentals of French Grammar*, Holt, 1912, p. 72, § 103). This remark leads to a misunderstanding of the real tense values, and a short discussion of the usage may not be out of place.

The French language has never confined itself to a simple tense in expressing an action which continues from the past into the present of the speaker. The following examples, from different periods, will illustrate the point. Ci ai estet grant e lunc tens, etc. *Brandan* (Michel), 1540 (He is still there).—Entre vous tous qui estes la Et aves actendu pieg'a, etc. *Deguileville, Pélerinage de l'âme* (Stürzinger) 22828.—J' oubliais . . . que j' ai goûté dès l'enfance . . . L'enchantement du ciel de France. *Sully-Prudhomme, Repentir* (from Henning, *French Lyrics of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 292).

As regards the *depuis* construction, the past indefinite is not infrequently found where the present might be expected. The following are illustrative examples: Les rois d'Angleterre, qui ont régné depuis tant de siècles, etc. Bossuet (Warren, *French Prose of the Seventeenth Century*, Heath, p. 135, 1-2).—Vers l'église, Dont depuis deux cents ans à tous ces pieds humains Le baptême et la mort ont frayé les chemins. Lamartine, *Jocelyn* (Oxford Press), p. 134, l. 393.—Savez-vous qui j'ai attendu toute la semaine? Lahorie . . . Je l'ai attendu tous les jours depuis notre conversation. Allons, dites-lui donc . . . que je l'attends. *V. Hugo raconté*, I, pp. 70-71.—Nous voudrions que les abonnés . . . reçussent . . . un petit souvenir de tous ceux . . . qui, depuis si longtemps, les ont instruits ou charmés. *Annales pol. et lit.*, No. 1584, p. 390.

It seems clear, therefore, that the French can neglect present continuance, if they so desire, and stress the pastness of the action. This is what Clédat refers to in *RPhF.*, XVII, p. 28: "Notez qu'avec un verbe exprimant un état ou

une action de durée indéfinie, *depuis* marque le commencement et non la fin de l'action parfaite: Il a dormi depuis ce matin."

There is the same relation between the pluperfect and the imperfect, as is shown in the few examples below given: La hâte de réaliser ce qui avait été son désir unique depuis quatre ans, etc. *Oeuvres de Pascal*, I. p. xiv (Grands Ecrivains ed.).—D'autre part les principes offensifs qui avaient toujours été en honneur chez nous depuis 1870 devaient nous faire rechercher l'initiative de l'attaque sur les Allemands. *L'Illustration*, No. 3749 (January 9, 1915), col. 27.—Et il me conta son histoire: il avait vécu depuis soixante-cinq ans, toujours malheureux, toujours battu, . . . assommé par les Turcs qui le défendaient contre les chrétiens. *Ibid.*, No. 3767 (May 15, 1915), in "Le Vieux Turc," last page, inside cover.

This usage of the pluperfect is especially interesting as it throws light upon a moot question, namely, whether the relation between the pluperfect and past anterior is identical with that between the imperfect and past definite. This is not the place for a discussion of the subject at length, nor historically. Miss C. J. Cipriani, in *Modern Philology*, X, p. 495, holds such a view to be "certainly erroneous." In the present usage, at any rate, the pluperfect is strikingly parallel to the imperfect. They both give the past action without any indication *per se* of the subsequent continuance. Depuis la décadence de la famille de Charlemagne, la France avait langui plus ou moins, etc. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, p. 6 (Hachette). Voltaire does not necessarily think of this decline as ended at the time under discussion. Cf. Ils venaient tous les jours. There is nothing to show that the action ceased. Neither the past definite nor the past anterior leave the question of completion open in this way, and the use of the pluperfect with *depuis* seems to be dependent upon this very quality in the tense as distinct from the past anterior.

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GREENE AS A COLLABORATOR

Robert Greene has been proposed as part author of so many plays that it may be of interest and value to discover just what his method of procedure was in the one play which we know to have been written by him in collaboration with a fellow dramatist. In his introductory note to *A Looking-Glass for London and England* by Greene and Lodge, Mr. Thomas H. Dickinson says, "The assignment of authorship of different portions of the play is difficult and not entirely profitable."¹ In and of itself the task is certainly not particularly profitable, but I do not see how anyone can consider it difficult, for with a little consideration one will find the play falling of its own weight into its component parts. It is true that Fleay assigns "most and best" of it to Lodge, whereas the "most and best" of it is Greene's; but the main line of cleavage was noted by the late Churton Collins,² and Professor Gayley had already indicated Lodge's scenes in detail.³ On a recent reading I noted what I thought must be the share of each of the authors, and upon finding myself in accord with Professor Gayley except with regard to the two scenes which I think are of particular significance for determining Greene's method of work, I determined to see if I could not arrive at some definite conclusions regarding them.

The play was Greene's at the start. To him may confidently be assigned the opening scene, in which Rasni, King of Nineveh, takes his sister to wife, abetted in his crime by Radagon, whom he thereupon advances.⁴ To Greene likewise belongs the second scene, wherein the prophet Oseas is "let down over the stage in a throne," and Adam, a smith's man, goes to

¹ *Mermaid Greene*, p. 78.

² In his edition of Greene, Vol. I, pp. 140, 141.

³ *Rep. Eng. Com.*, Vol. I, p. 405, foot-note.

⁴ The verse is for all the world in the staccato manner of *Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, and distinctly less free than that of *Orlando Furioso* and the plays following. Lodge's verse is not of an essentially different type from Greene's, but on the whole is less crisp and more flowing.

drink with two ruffians. This is the first of Greene's series of prose comedy scenes in which this character appears. The scene ends with the moralizing heroic couplets of Oseas.

In act III Lodge's hand appears for the first time. Alcon and Thrasybulus are being oppressed by a usurer; and Lodge's liking for this unpleasant topic is no clearer sign of his authorship than is the obvious dissimilarity which the scene shows to those before it. Oseas concludes the act with some irregular couplets later capped with half a dozen of Greene's.

Not to go into too great detail, Greene tells how Rasni's sister-wife is "strucken black with thunder," as we see when the curtains are drawn; how Rasni thereupon, at Radagon's instigation, takes to wife Alvida, who compliantly poisons her husband; how he visits the priests of the sun⁵ and is threatened by a burning sword; and how at last he and all the others are driven to repentance by the prophet Jonas. In the prose sub-plot, Adam kills one of the ruffians; seduces the smith's wife and beats her husband for interfering; encounters and beats a devil;⁶ receives plentiful drink for amusing Alvida; and finally is caught eating and drinking during the penitential fast.

Lodge follows his own lead with his usurer in another scene; and then, because of Greene's sudden confiscation of this material, which is my main point of interest in this drama, he develops through a series of poetic scenes the arrival of Jonas, whom Greene is now prepared to use for his repentance *motif* with which the play ends.

Throughout all this, the work of the two authors is kept wholly distinct, and the only collaboration consisted in the agreement that Lodge was to prepare Jonas for Greene's con-

⁵ In his "Address to the Gentlemen Readers" prefixed to his *Peremides the Blacksmith* (1588), Greene says he cannot "blaspheme with the mad priest of the sun." In default of other priests of the sun, it has been supposed that he referred to Lodge's work in this scene. But these priests do not blaspheme and are not mad. It is possible that an extension of this scene was written in for the stage production by another hand.

⁶ In a scene strongly reminding us of the ending of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.

sumption (who seems to have swallowed him whole, without digesting, as the whale had done before him) and the mere fitting of the scenes into their places. But now I come to the crucial matter,—the one point of genuine difficulty and of peculiar interest.

In act III, scene ii, we have Lodge's Alcon and Thrasybulus together with Greene's Rasni and Radagon; and Professor Gayley accordingly divides the scene, saying that the first part of it "shows signs of Lodge principally, but some of the lines are Greene's." In Lodge's previous scenes, Alcon has appeared as a simple-minded, boorish, vulgar, and pitiful old man, who dreaded going home to his wife after he had lost his cow to the usurer; but he says he has a son at court (Greene's Radagon) to whom he will appeal for aid. In the present scene we find Alcon at his home with his wife and younger son. Radagon enters and utterly spurns his parents; but "a flame of fire appears from beneath, and Radagon is swallowed." We are sure this trap-door business is Greene's doing; and on closer examination we may note that a distinct change has come over Lodge's characters. Alcon continues to speak prose, because he has been created such a character that he *must*, but all the rest speak in verse. In short, the scene soon yields itself up as wholly Greene's.⁷

The reason for the existence of this scene is most interesting. Greene's Radagon has given no sign of humble extraction, but Lodge fathomed him with the boorish peasant Alcon. Greene forthwith brings his Radagon home and has him utterly deny and disclaim his origin. He gives him a mother and brother who speak in verse, and to Alcon himself Greene gives a certain dignity and reserve wholly different from anything he had shown in Lodge's scenes. He does not appeal to his son, as Lodge's Alcon was to have done; but when Radagon says he cannot stay, this new Alcon responds, "Tut, son, I'll help you of that disease quickly, for

⁷ That the scene is Greene's is made more probable by the fact that Alcon and Thrasybulus now for the first time receive names. In the scenes by Lodge they appear in the quartos merely as a poor Man and a young Gentleman.

I can hold thee." He is even capable of saying to Rasni, "Hence, proud king!" and of a slight indulgence in the Latin. And to make a complete finish of his villain-hero, Greene has him swallowed up in flames. There shall be no more Radagon in this play now! In the opening scenes he had given promise of a longer life.

Yet the essentially imitative genius of Greene shows in this that having become acquainted with Lodge's Alcon one must look sharply to see the difference. Having once discovered the difference, however, we should have little hesitation in assigning to Greene act IV, scene v, where these characters of Lodge's creation appear once more, though Professor Gayley divides the scene and gives the first part of it to Lodge. Here Alcon, having become a light-hearted pickpocket and drinker, borrows again glibly of the usurer, and upon the call of Jonas repents with the rest in a line of blank verse. He is no longer simple-minded, nor vulgar,⁸ nor pitiful, nor boorish.

It would appear, therefore, that so far as this one play is concerned, Greene was disposed to take the lead, to make full use of his friend's invention, but even in his intentional imitation to introduce elements of character of a new and contradictory sort.

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NOTES ON EARLY ENGLISH PROSE FICTION

Mr. Esdaile's *List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740*, reviewed in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Feb., 1914, stands up under more extended investigation as one of the most thorough and valuable contributions of recent years to the history of English prose fiction. Still, as practically a pioneer in its field, it is of course subject to a continually increasing

⁸Not that Greene wouldn't, but that he didn't make him so, as Lodge had done.

number of additions and corrections, which will in time necessitate a new and revised edition.

Mr. Augustus H. Shearer, of the Newberry Library, Chicago, in an unprinted communication put at my disposal, adds to Mr. Esdaile's list an interesting group of titles from a collection of books in this field presented to the Library in 1913 by Mr. Frederic Ives Carpenter. Entirely unrecorded by Mr. Esdaile are: *Marianus, or Love's Heroick Champion*, B. Al-sop and T. Fawcet for James Becket, 1641; Mathieu, P., *Unhappy Prosperitie*, Translated into English by Sir Thomas Hawkins, I. Haviland for G. Emondson, 1632; [Pix, Mary], *The Inhumane Cardinal*, For J. Harding and R. Wilkins, 1696. Other works, noted by Mr. Esdaile, appear in other editions: Forde, E., *Montelyon*, T. Haly for W. Thackeray and T. Passenger, 1680; Costes, *Cassandra*, For H. Moseley, 1661; Reynolds, *The Flower of Fidelity*, T. Mabb for G. Badger, 1655; and *Lisarda, or the Travels of Love and Jealousy*, For Jos. Knight, 1690.

It is possible also to add various bits of information to the data supplied by Mr. Esdaile. From copies in the Newberry Library Mr. Shearer notes the following: the 1724 edition of Forde's *Parismus* is indicated as the seventh edition, with T. Norris as publisher (Esdaile, p. 54); the 1682 edition of *Fortunatus* has in the title the correct wording *Tragical*, not *Trachical* (Esdaile, p. 55); the second part of the 1681 edition of Brémond's *The Pilgrim* is bound with the first part of the edition of 1684, thus disposing of the question of one or two volumes in the later edition (Esdaile, p. 169).

To this material I wish to add certain details that have come under my personal observation. In his list of novels written by Mrs. Penelope Aubin, Mr. Esdaile does not include *The Life of Charlotta Du Pont, an English Lady*. Yet this seems to have appeared originally with the dedication—to Mrs. Rowe—and the preface both signed "Penelope Aubin," and was republished with these in that author's collected works in 1739.

Of *The Inconstant Lover: An Excellent Romance* (1671) Mr. Esdaile says: "Perhaps a translation of Chavigny's L'Amant parjure, ou

la fidélité à l'épreuve." But an inspection of the "romance" shows it to have been nothing but a reissue of the first three of the four books of *The Famous Chinois: or the Loves of Several of the French Nobility, under borrowed names*, published in 1669 as the English rendering of *Le fameux Chinois* by M. Du Bail. The ingenious publisher, Thomas Dring, whose name is attached to both English productions, seems merely to have remarked his first—and apparently unsuccessful—venture by substituting eight fresh pages at the beginning and as many more at the end of Book III, the former containing a new title-page and preface, and the latter a more abrupt conclusion. Other pages tally in every particular.

For *The Amours of the Count de Dunois* in 1675 (French original in 1671) Mr. Esdaile follows the *British Museum Catalogue* in suggesting Henriette Julie, Comtesse de Murat, as the possible author; but he makes no mention of her in connection with the so-called *Memoirs of the Countess of Dunois, written by herself*, 1699, which he lists only as a part of the Countess D'Aulnoy's *Diverting Works*, published in English in 1707. In fact this truly diverting work is neither the biography of the Countess D'Aulnoy nor the product of her pen; and the British Museum cataloguer was on much safer ground in identifying the Countess de Murat as the author of this, than of *Le Comte de Dunois*, an account written when Henriette Julie was approximately one year old (cf. *Nouv. Biographie Générale*).

At any rate it is interesting to see how the confusion arose. In 1696 appeared Saint-Évremond's *Mémoires du Comte de *****, promptly rendered into English as *Female Falsehood, or the Unfortunate Beau*. This English title suggests the part played by the book in both countries—a vigorous satirizing of feminine weakness and duplicity, and thus a contribution to the sex-war then in progress. In France there was an immediate rejoinder, probably by the Countess de Murat, modelled closely on the form of Saint-Évremond's book and bearing the title *Mémoires de Madame la Comtesse D *****. By this time various specimens of romantic memoirs by the Countess

D'Aulnoy were well known in England, some of them signed with this same asterisk device. Naturally enough the English translator, J. H., apparently in the best of faith, entitled his version "*Memoirs of the Countess of Dunois, written by herself . . .*" by way of answer to Monsieur St. Evremont." The English public accepted this theory of authorship, and the editor of the *Diverting Works*, nearly ten years later, perpetuated it by including the *Memoirs* in his collection.

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L'ABBÉ LUCIEN FALCONNET, *Un Essai de Rénovation théâtrale: "Die Makkabäer" d'Otto Ludwig*. Paris: Champion, 1913. 8vo., 121 pp.

Recent years have witnessed a more careful study and a more just appreciation of the great German poets of the nineteenth century. Nor has this interest been confined to Germany. The best Life and Works of Grillparzer that we possess is by Professor Ehrhard of the University of Lyon, and the present detailed study of Ludwig's *Makkabäer* is, as the title indicates, by a French abbé.

After Otto Ludwig's premature death in 1865, following as it did years of suffering, during which he had been practically cut off from the world, he soon became a mere name to all but a few understanding and admiring friends. Even Freytag's fine essay,¹ published first in the *Grenzboten* in 1866, with its appreciative analysis of Ludwig's chief works, seems to have attracted little attention. It was not until the appearance, in 1891, of the epoch-making edition of Ludwig's complete works by Adolf Stern and Erich Schmidt, with the excellent biography by Adolf Stern, that the study of the poet was put upon a firm basis.

¹ Gustav Freytag, *Gesammelte Aufsätze, II. Bd., Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1888.

Since then, several complete editions have appeared, as well as special treatises on particular works.

Both Sauer and Stern have pronounced *Die Makkabäer* the poet's most abiding masterpiece, and Robert Petsch² has given us a very sympathetic study of this great tragedy. What makes Falconnet's essay especially valuable, is its lucid arrangement and a completeness of detail not found in any other treatment of this play. The title "un essai de rénovation théâtrale" leads one to expect that Ludwig's part in reforming the German stage would occupy a large part of the treatment. Such is, however, not the case. The theme is merely mentioned in the Introduction and is scarcely referred to again until the very end of the work.

Falconnet's study comprises seven chapters: *Histoire de la Composition de la Pièce*; *Le Sujet*; *Sources autres que la Bible*; *L'Esprit du Drame*; *Éléments personnels*; *L'Exécution*; *Accueil fait aux 'Makkabäer.'*

The first chapter describes the three stages of the play: *Die Makkabäerin*, *Die Mutter der Makkabäer*, and the final version, and shows how each version was evolved out of the preceding one. In the second chapter the reasons are enumerated which led Ludwig to choose this biblical theme, just after his *Erbföhrster* had scored such a marked success. Chief among these are: the critical interest in the Bible at this time, Ludwig's own pious devotion to the Bible, and his eagerness to surpass the author of *Herodes und Mariamne* in his own special field. Then follows a brief résumé of the salient events in the two apocryphal books of the Maccabees, Ludwig's method of employing them, together with a detailed synopsis of the final version of the tragedy.

In the third chapter, Sources other than the Bible, Falconnet shows the most originality and also the greatest daring. The chapter begins with a discussion of the sort of imitation we may expect in the case of Ludwig, who, as reformer, did not hesitate to take already existing themes, to which to apply what he regarded

as a more perfect method of treatment, following the adage "non nova, sed nove." Falconnet then proceeds to prove, with some measure of success, that, apart from the Bible, Ludwig was influenced most by Zacharias Werner's *Mutter der Makkabäer*, written in 1820. He has no evidence that Ludwig was acquainted with the work of Werner but bases his claims on the internal grounds, some of which seem valid, others specious.

That the *Makkabäerin*, the first draft of Ludwig's tragedy, is not an original work, is, he asserts, shown by the fact that the two contrasted female figures are not portrayed in as masterly fashion as those in the earlier *Novelle Maria*,—certainly a wholly specious argument. He then advances two arguments to show the influence of Werner's tragedy on the *Makkabäerin*:

1. "La 'Makkabäerin,' comme le drame de Werner, nous parle d'une grotte où étaient cachés tous les petits Macchabées, et qui fut découverte par suite d'une trahison. Ce motif ne se trouve pas dans la Bible." To be sure, the Apocrypha do not state that the seven were thus concealed, but it is evident from I Maccabees 1, 56, that the Israelites commonly hid in this manner.

2. "La paix est due non aux exploits de Judas, mais à une femme. . . . Les deux femmes indiquent en même temps ce qu'il reste à faire: il faut aller à Jérusalem, purifier le Temple et le consacrer à nouveau."

Falconnet finds that Ludwig's second draft, *Die Mutter der Makkabäer*, besides bearing the same name as Werner's drama, betrays its influence in the following particulars. In each play the heroine is represented as being, at the outset, a widow. At the beginning of each play garlands are being prepared for a festival. When Ludwig's Lea enters the tent of Antiochus, she seems wholly cured of human ambition, a too sudden conversion, due to the influence of Werner's Salome. The sudden and unnatural cruelty of Antiochus seems also to reflect Werner's influence.

In the final version of Ludwig's tragedy the French critic finds the points of contact with

² Robert Petsch, *Otto Ludwig's Makkabäer*. Leipzig und Berlin, 1902.

Werner's work even more numerous. I shall take these up in order.

1. "Le personnage de Léa . . . n'est pas tiré de la Bible. Dans les Livres Saints il est parlé d'une femme juive qui encourage ses sept enfants à mourir pour la religion juive, mais on n'indique pas son nom et il ne nous est pas dit qu'elle appartint à la famille des Macchabées comme l'ont voulu et Werner et Ludwig."³ A quotation from Schweizer's edition of Ludwig's Works would seem to dispose of this argument: "Auch das Heldenhum der Mutter und der Opfertod ihrer sieben Kinder hat ursprünglich nichts mit den Makkabäern zu tun, sondern ist eine Geschichte für sich, die im zweiten Buch der Makkabäer, Kapitel 7 erzählt wird. Aber schon in sehr früher Zeit wurden die Makkabäer mit den Märtyrern identifiziert, und seit dem vierten Jahrhundert feierte man ein Makkabäerfest zum Andenken an jene Mutter mit ihren sieben Söhnen."⁴

2. "Les enfants, en subissant le martyre, maudissent bien le tyran, d'après la Bible, mais ils n'entonnent pas un psaume, comme le veulent et Werner et Ludwig."⁵ This is quite true, but it is also true that their curses abound in biblical phraseology taken from the Psalms and other books of the Old Testament. What more natural, therefore, than that Ludwig, even though he had never seen Werner's drama, should, in order to heighten the poetic effect, have the martyrs sing Psalms?

3. "Dans les deux drames nous trouvons deux caractères féminins opposés l'un à l'autre. Salomé contraste par son caractère viril avec la délicate Cidli sa belle-fille contre laquelle elle a des préjugés; avant d'avoir pu l'apprécier elle la trouve indigne d'être l'épouse de Judas. . . . Cette opposition entre deux femmes se retrouve, quoique moins justifiée, chez Ludwig. Quels sentiments entretient Léa à l'égard de Naémi, nous le voyons surabondamment. . . . Ce caractère d'orgueil viril dans une femme est peint avec une telle intensité chez nos deux poètes, que si on peut lui trouver en Cidli et

Naémi des contrastes qui le fassent mieux ressortir encore, il n'est dans les deux pièces aucun personnage qui puisse lui faire contrepoids. . . . En outre les deux femmes se ressemblent tellement que toutes deux, en voyant mourir leurs enfants, insultent encore le tyran."⁶ Even this argument is not entirely convincing. The employment of marked contrasts is a favorite device with great poets. Ludwig had already made use of these in his charming *Novelle Maria*, where the sweet gentle virtuous Marie is contrasted with the warm-blooded, passionate Julie. Moreover, we know that Ludwig, when he chose this biblical theme, intended to lay the chief emphasis upon the double marriage of Judas by pitting two exactly opposite types of women against each other. Upon the advice of Devrient he abandoned this plan, but the contrast between two women, although somewhat unmotivated, was nevertheless retained in the final version.

That in both dramas the mother should insult the tyrant and admonish her sons to fortitude in the face of death, and that Antiochus should try to save the life of her youngest son, is not surprising; for both elements are contained in the biblical account as found in II Maccabees 7. The surprising thing is that the abbé should have overlooked it.

Falconnet also finds it remarkable that both poets should have imbued their dramas with the same Old Testament ideas of omnipotence, the vengeance of God, the solidarity of the people. On the contrary, it would be remarkable, if Ludwig, or any other genuine poet, could have written a tragedy on the Maccabees with proper local color, without incorporating these ideas, that lie at the very heart of the Jewish religion and the Jewish people.

It will be seen, therefore, that no single reason advanced by Falconnet to show that Ludwig was influenced by Werner is convincing. It is rather the cumulative effect of all these arguments which inclines us to the belief that Ludwig was acquainted with Werner's *Mutter der Makkabäer*. The Stern-Schmidt edition makes, to be sure, no mention of this work, and

³ P. 53.

⁴ Viktor Schweizer, *Ludwig's Werke* (Leipzig, 1898), I, 259.

⁵ P. 53.

⁶ Pp. 54 and 55.

Schweizer in his prefatory remarks to Ludwig's *Makkabäer* most emphatically denies any such influence.

Assuming that Ludwig, as a conscious rival of Hebbel, wished to compete with him on a theme already tried by his adversary, Falconnet is of the opinion that Ludwig was influenced in his choice and treatment of the Maccabee-theme by Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne*. He gets his cue for this assertion from the fact that in Ludwig's first draft Judas is loved by two wives, Lea and Thirza, wholly different in character, just as Herodes stands between his jealous sister Salome and his wife Mariamne; and from the further fact that when Hebbel's play and Ludwig's final version are compared, we see that "Alexandra est comme Léa fière de ses ancêtres, orgueilleuse et ambitieuse; et elle espère aussi qu'un de ses fils, le jeune Aristobule, rendra à la race des Macchabées son ancienne splendeur. Elle le pousse à diriger tous ses efforts vers ce but suprême: exercer la royauté sur Israël. Elle le voit déjà au sommet de la hiérarchie sacerdotale, comme Léa le rêve pour son Eléazar. Elle espère aussi que sa fille Mariamne fera un mariage digne de sa famille et accroîtra par là la puissance de sa maison."⁷

The first reason assigned is very flimsy, for one man between two women is one of the most common of motifs. The second argument is considerably stronger. The reading of Hebbel's play may well have inspired Ludwig to write a rival tragedy glorifying the Maccabee family. Lea may also have some traits from Alexandra, but the unprejudiced reader will probably find few points of resemblance between the two plays.

Especially unfortunate and unwarranted are the author's assumptions, when he attempts to establish points of resemblance between Ludwig's *Makkabäer* and certain tragedies of Schiller. For instance, when Lea, learning of the apostasy of her son Eleazar, cries to heaven "Ich hab' noch Kinder," we are supposed to be reminded of Isabella's defiance of heaven in *Die Braut von Messina*, when she beholds her murdered son Don Manuel. Judah is styled

the Hebrew Tell and Eleazar the Hebrew Rudenz. Especially fantastic are the author's parallels Lea : Armgard and Lea : Gertrud. The whole treatment of Schiller's influence upon Ludwig's *Makkabäer* is, in fact, more ingenious than convincing. There is no likelihood of conscious imitation. What resemblances there are may be unconscious 'Anklänge.'

The remaining chapters of the study offer very little occasion for criticism. In the fourth chapter, The Spirit of the Drama, the question is raised whether there is any moral idea in the *Makkabäer*. After discussing Ludwig's strong aversion to all 'Tendenzliteratur,' his opposition to the embodiment of any philosophic idea in the drama, his passion to portray nature and to attain the objectivity of Shakespeare, Falconnet expresses the opinion that there is a tendency in the *Makkabäer*; that even the realistic poet cannot escape all tendency, for he represents men in action, and such men have goals and are guided by certain principles. In the *Erbförster* the moral question involved was the "conflict between the rights of the individual and the established order"; in the *Makkabäer* it is the "right of society to defend its beliefs"; so that in a way the two plays supplement each other in the treatment of the problem of liberty. The chapter closes with a discussion of certain psychological and theological problems of the play.

In Chapter V we are made acquainted with the personal elements in the play. Without maintaining that Ludwig incorporated directly experiences of his youth, Falconnet shows with considerable skill how reminiscences of childhood days have left an unmistakable impress.

In the chapter entitled "L'Exécution," Falconnet agrees with Bulthaup, Myer, and other critics that Ludwig did not succeed in attaining perfect unity of action. In fact, he sees several heroes and threads of action and suggests the following very adequate reasons why Ludwig failed to attain this unity. In the first place, the temperament of the poet was such that he saw individual scenes in cinematographic fashion without closely connecting links. A second cause was the peculiar character of the Oriental literature from which Ludwig drew his theme.

⁷ P. 60.

"L'Orient a compris tout autrement l'écrivain et son œuvre. Il ne lui a demandé ni l'unité de plan, ni l'unité de composition, ni l'unité d'effet. . . ." A third cause was his model, Shakespeare, who is also lax in this regard. Finally, there was the desire to make Lea a star rôle for Frau Stich-Crelinger, the character of Lea thus assuming undue proportions. Notwithstanding this lack of unity, Falconnet finds the tragedy interesting on account of the wealth of detail and the powerful individual scenes.

The most serious objection to Ludwig's treatment of the theme the French critic finds in the fact that he has put under our eyes modern Jews and not those of the time of the Macabees. They have the passive virtues of suffering and martyrdom, but not the heroic grandeur of Jews in the most glorious period of their history. The chapter closes with a detailed account of Ludwig's style, showing how it was influenced by biblical imagery and parallelism.

The final chapter offers an interesting and instructive array of material. After mentioning the difficulties which beset the staging of the *Makkabäer*, especially the Third Act, Falconnet gives brief accounts of theatrical performances of the play on leading German stages, duly noticing also the preference of leading actresses for the rôle of Lea. In conclusion, he cites the estimates of the literary value of the *Makkabäer* of several German literary critics, adding his own verdict in the following terms: "Nous estimons que Ludwig n'a pas atteint ce qu'il cherchait en écrivant son drame. Il voulait 'combattre l'opéra avec ses propres armes' (ce qui était vraiment s'exposer à un échec), et son œuvre renferme des scènes théâtrales et mélodramatiques d'un goût douzeux; il combattit Schiller et ne sut pas éviter les défauts qu'il lui reprochait; il voulut faire mieux que Shakespeare et poussa trop loin le culte du détail; il rechercha la simplicité sans pouvoir renoncer à l'effet; il visait à l'unité et il ne put la réaliser malgré ses prétentions. . . . Quelle est l'importance historique des 'Makkabäer'? Pouvaient-ils aiguiller la littérature allemande, comme l'avait fait l' 'Erbförster' vers le naturalisme? Non; mais

d'autre part l'œuvre n'a pas un caractère très net, elle n'appartient pas au classicisme, le romantisme ne s'y fait remarquer que ça et là; ce qu'elle fait entrevoir le mieux c'est le réalisme, mais elle n'est elle-même qu'un produit mitigé du réalisme, elle est dans son ensemble une manifestation du réalisme poétique. En définitive, elle n'est qu'une œuvre de transition."⁸

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Nouveau Cours Français, by ANDRÉ C. FONTAINE. Boston, Ginn and Company, 1914. ix + 272 pp.

Very noticeable at present is the increased emphasis placed upon the feature of illustrations by the authors of certain types of grammars for the study of modern languages. Pictorial material is provided in such generous quantities that the authors find it advisable in some cases to insert at the beginning of the book complete lists of their pictures with references to the pages which they face. One very recent *First Book in French* offers nineteen illustrations, with a map of France as a frontispiece. Another new book (*Le Premier livre*), "a grammar and reader combined, intended to cover all the work of the first half year" for students of French, is furnished with some twenty-seven views of various sorts, sizes, and degrees of attractiveness, plus the usual map of France. And *A Spanish Grammar for Beginners*, just before the public as these lines are being written, is adorned with twenty-three really artistic illustrations, starting with the famous Court of the Lions at the Alhambra (with a second view of the same later in the book) and coming on through Spain, South America, and Mexico City, until Morro Castle at Havana is ultimately reached. The volume under special consideration has likewise its quota of illustrative material, that is to say, eleven full-page pictures, with maps of France

*P. 120.

and Paris. If one dares to question the utility of so much of this sort of material, the reply is ready that such pictorial features are of very practical interest and are in most cases immediately illustrative of the foreign text on the pages which they face or to which they refer. If this is true, then they should certainly be so well done as reproductions and so appropriate as to be sure to stimulate the interest of the learner. In the judgment of the reviewer most of the illustrations in the present volume are either inappropriate in themselves, or as art are crude and pale, or else are inadequately illustrative. One view of a street scene in Paris presents prominently the old out-of-date three-horse omnibus instead of the autobus of more recent days. Another illustration, which is the surprise of the collection, is given over to Père Grandet installed in his armchair at the period of his approaching death. This dismal picture is evidently introduced to give pertinence to a passage from Balzac's novel inserted in a lesson on the past descriptive tense. Both picture and passage seem entirely out of place in the twenty-second lesson of a French grammar intended for beginners. The author's views of Versailles and the Chambre des Députés are also especially unsatisfactory.

A second peculiarity which is very marked in some of the newest grammars is the effort of the authors to combine the salient features of the "grammatical" and the "direct" methods of instruction. The result is that too much material, too many things, too many new facts, are often crowded into a given space. The present book is less open to this criticism than others which might be mentioned. Some of the lessons appear overcrowded, but of course they can be divided. One set of material is, however, brought in which seems wholly unjustified. In the lessons of the second half of the volume considerable space is devoted to explanations of the source and modern application of such quotations as: "Revenons à nos moutons!" "Mais où sont les neiges d'antan?" "Rodrigue, as-tu du cœur?" "Qu'allait-il faire dans cette galère?" and many others (some twenty-five in all) of still more doubtful utility, even should the college

student spend a year or a year and a half on the Course as the author suggests in his preface. This feature is certainly a novel one; it may help to justify the author's title *Nouveau Cours*. But it does seem very inadvisable in an elementary grammar to use half a page in explaining, for example, just why and how Racine happened to insert in *les Plaideurs* such a *réplique* as: "Avocat, ah! passons au déluge." Quotations of this character should be reserved for more advanced study.

The author states in his preface that the volume "aims merely to be a live, practical book for a practical purpose, and its purpose is to give a working knowledge of the French language." This may possibly account for the fact that some of the elucidation is unscientific and characterized by looseness or inaccuracy of statement. The treatment of pronunciation is popular and incomplete. Phonetic symbols are ignored and exceptions are not to any extent recognized (for example, *eu* in the verb *avoir*). Probably few teachers of French will agree with the author that the sound of *o* in French *mode*, *robe* is the same as that of *u* in English "mud," or that the *è* in *mère* is the same as the *a* in English "mare." There are said to be three definite articles, after which the form *l'* is explained, which might well then be classed as a fourth. We are also told that there are three indefinite articles, *des* being classed as the third. The author's desire to use French, when feasible, rather than English in his grammatical elucidation leads often to a queer mingling of the two languages in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence. The traditional French names for the tenses are retained. The author has not seen fit to give any recognition in this matter to the recommendations of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, nor has he been influenced by the "Rapport" of the French Commission on the same subject. Such statements as the following need revision: "In French all prepositions except *en* and *après* govern the infinitive" (p. 83); and "Le Futur est formé par l'addition des terminaisons du présent du verbe *avoir* à l'infinitif du verbe. Ces terminaisons sont: *ai, as, a, ons, ez, ont*"

(p. 151). Under the discussion of adjectives (p. 14) we find: "Note that in the body of a sentence adjectives are never written with capitals. Ex. *Le garçon français est agréable.*" According to this the student would presumably use a capital in a sentence like: *J'ai un livre français*, especially as nothing has been offered in the way of specific treatment of the use of capitals in French. The author's adherence to the old classification of verbs into four conjugations will impress many teachers unfavorably. The uses of *vingt* and *cent*, with or without plural mark, are discussed twice (pp. 30 and 79). On page 45, "ma mère joue le piano, ma sœur joue le violon" needs correction; same remark for "je vais jouer le piano" (p. 46). On page 53, the author implies that the *w* in French *tramway* has the same sound as in French *wagon*. The general vocabularies make no claim to be complete, and the author attempts to justify their incompleteness. It is to be feared, however, that they will frequently be found inadequate to the needs of the average student.

Excellent characteristics of the book are: the arrangement of the lesson vocabularies and their position at the beginning of the lesson (though some teachers will doubtless think them too long); sets of review questions and exercises; and a series of very interesting reading selections on the climate, aspect, government, history, and other features of France. These latter are especially well chosen and simply phrased. There appears also a quite sufficient amount of material about getting to Paris and doing and seeing things at Paris, but the author's restraint in this direction is apparent, and is refreshing when one thinks of the excessive quantity of matter of this kind found in some grammars and composition books. The statements concerning the uses of the French past participle are particularly lucid. And it is a pleasure to add that the volume is splendidly printed and gives evidence of careful proof-reading.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING MONTESQUIEU

Montesquieu, par J. DEDIEU. (*Les Grands Philosophes.*) Paris, Alcan, 1913. viii + 358 pp.

Correspondance de Montesquieu, edited by F. GEBELIN and A. MORIZE. (*Collection bordelaise.*) 2 vols. Paris, Champion, 1914.

Lettres persanes by Montesquieu, edited by R. L. CRU. New York, Oxford Press, 1914. xxvii + 312 pp.

Our knowledge of Montesquieu has nearly doubled in the last generation. Since the biography of Vian (1878) and the excellent general criticism of Sorel (1887), there has been gathered a mass of material that renders necessary, in each direction, a freshly munitioned attack. The biography is still lacking, but M. Dedieu has furnished the new criticism, and both fields are now greatly illumined by the publication of the long-desired full Correspondence.

Before these, the Montesquiana made available since 1891 included first of all the *Collection bordelaise*. This valuable store of *inédits* comprises several of Montesquieu's minor works, as well as his *Voyages* and his *Pensées et fragments*. Also, M. Barckhausen had drawn from the archives of La Brède material for a volume illustrating anew Montesquieu's main ideas and his masterpieces. Critical editions of the latter, excluding the *Esprit des lois*, had been published with full apparatus obtained from the archives. Furthermore, a quantity of monographs, dissertations, articles, attest the interest of our age in the philosopher whose light had rather waned since the epoch of the Restoration.

I

The way was surely open for a synthetic study which would press into service both the monuments themselves and the labors of the later devotees. This study M. Dedieu has attempted, so far as regards the chief divisions of Montesquieu's thought. That, indeed, is the chief object and value of his volume: to

make a progressive analysis of Montesquieu's mind, as it developed amid contemporary opinion.

The chapters treat: the formation of Montesquieu's intelligence; the origins of his sociological method; his political and moral ideas; his social, his economic, and finally his religious ideas. There are added a conclusion, appendices, a chronological table of the works, and the best bibliography since Vian.

The analysis is progressive—and this is a distinct feature—in that a constant effort is made to mark the stages of Montesquieu's *pensée évolutive*, not only through the chief works and here and there in the pages of the *Collection bordelaise*, but also, for example, in additions made to the *Lettres persanes* or in a later book of the *Esprit des lois* as offsetting an earlier. The *disjecta membra* of Montesquieu's body politic are articulated and, as far as possible, dated. This frequently needs delicate construction and interpretation. Fortunately, the way has been partially cleared by previous researches.

Previous researches, again, largely M. Dedieu's own, have prepared for the second feature of this *enquête*—to wit, Montesquieu is not viewed as a solitary star, but is set firmly in his proper galaxy. He is seen as adopting the interests of his time, as approving, or more often reacting against the theories and solutions then favored; in either case, this great relativist always relates, this strong believer in *rapports* is usually *en rapport* himself.

The advantages of such a sociological approach, with emphasis on vogue as the soil of thought, are coming to be more and more appreciated. They are conspicuous in the treatment of M. Dedieu, who in his previous work on a similar subject¹ had drawn largely from the French and English political speculations of the time. These now reappear—Melon, Mandeville, Locke, Warburton—as the probable sources of much in the *Esprit des lois*. Aside from that, the writer uses names and documents less well-known, contemporary discus-

sions and events, a nexus capably controlled and displayed on the threshold of each serious topic, as providing the "mental hinterland" of Montesquieu. The main objection here is simply in the matter of arrangement; repetitions of certain passages and of undoubted influences such as those of Aristotle and Locke, might well have been avoided by a more compact array.

Finally, as regards the general features, M. Dedieu, in reviewing Montesquieu's religious development, finds a growing conservatism and a respect for faith—a truth slightly tinged by the apparent orthodoxy of the critic.

Among the individual points which M. Dedieu emphasizes, the following are of especial interest. Montesquieu's taste for positive realities was strikingly encouraged by his scientific studies, which combined with his travels to modify what was too *livresque* or ideal in his first conceptions of government. England, though bringing the final light, left nevertheless the French parliamentarian and aristocrat to construct an amalgamated constitutional monarchy: "le chef-d'œuvre de législation qui demeure la suprême pensée politique de Montesquieu." Further, it appears that in the *Esprit des lois* we have for ten books relics of the absolutist, holding by "eternal justice" and equity, and of the Cartesian, who exhausts by abstract definition and analysis. The method of these books is then mainly anterior to the visit to England, and the persistence of such systematizing is seen throughout in the forcible relating of many phenomena to the kinds of government and their principles. Still, in the subsequent books, we are nearer the scientific spirit which takes facts as it finds them and forswears all but true causal relationships. When Montesquieu found a new *rapport* he added a new book, and towards the end of the monument illustrative books are appended without much regard for inner necessity.

M. Dedieu practically admits then the piecemeal character which remains, *pace* M. Barckhausen, the artistic fault as it is, perhaps, the jurisprudential merit of the *Esprit des lois*. Its lack of unity does not prevent its taking

¹ *Montesquieu et la tradition politique anglaise en France. Les sources anglaises de l'Esprit des lois.* Paris, Lecoffre, 1909.

rank as mainly a series of truths, elaborated at different times, under different inspirations.

Montesquieu's "sociological method" consists in his inauguration of the comparative study of nations and laws, exoticism and ethnography; the endeavor to establish facts first (though here he sometimes failed), and then to derive their moral and physical causes. The latter yield to the former, it is the plausible view of M. Dedieu, in spite of the importance given to climate and *terrain*. This overthrows the conventional pigeonholing of Montesquieu, and yet it seems supported, not only by the supereminent rôle given to *mœurs* (which are placed even above laws), but by various passages in the Correspondence. Physical causes predominate in the first part of the *Lois*, moral in the last, whether or not this is a conscious division of Montesquieu's. The conclusion is that here, as in religion, we have a growing idealism and conservatism in the author's standards.

That this marked traditionalism turned Montesquieu's face away from the idea of progress, making him rather a partisan of stability in most things, is a favorite thesis of M. Dedieu's, to which we shall return. The philosopher's social ideas, at any rate, in matters concerning slavery, war, and penal laws, are of the humanitarian and forward-looking cast. The valuable part of his political economy is the theory of cosmopolitan interchange and *concurrence* as tending towards general happiness. One of his most notable moral ideas, indeed, is that individual satisfaction can rarely be purchased at the expense of "l'esprit général."

This is an imperfect telescoping of M. Dedieu's analysis, and similar *lacunae* must occur in an attempt to point out what seem his more debatable propositions.

P. 3.—The statement that Montesquieu touched only with precaution on dangerous problems in government scarcely applies to the *Lettres persanes*; their *frondeur* tone is amply admitted by M. Dedieu himself (pp. 14 f.).

Pp. 5, 10, 22, 26, 74, etc.—The opposition between "scientific" and "bookish" notions, while sound in the main, seems, when elaborately applied, a forced extension of latter-day

academic antinomies. Without denying the importance of Montesquieu's travels, I think his "contact with realities" via Holland is overdone. Certain such contacts can also be found in his early experiences at home (see pp. 21-23).

P. 16.—The (psychological) "puissance d'observation" and the "regard de moraliste" credited to the *Lettres persanes* may be too highly praised.

P. 21.—The objection to viewing Montesquieu as a constant spirit and the insistence on his evolution are good points. But need they overthrow the *vérité acquise* that the germs of the political thought of the *Esprit des lois* are discernible in the *Lettres persanes*?

P. 42.—It is a far cry from the passage in the *Republic* on the stability of games to Montesquieu's cautions regarding the spirit of the French nation.

P. 52.—The suggestion that the Italian political thinkers do not figure among Montesquieu's masters is negative—to say nothing of Vico—by the influences of Machiavelli, Doria, and Gravina, whom M. Dedieu had just analyzed.

Pp. 94, 196, 285, 321-22.—The most serious objection should be made to M. Dedieu's excessive statement: "L'idée d'évolution, de progrès, est totalement absente de la pensée de Montesquieu." In a conscious modern sense, this is almost true. But there are various passages which indicate that the struggling concept of progress, that prince of eighteenth-century ideas, informs the farther reaches of Montesquieu's thought. E. g., No. 106 of the *Lettres persanes*, concerning the advance in 'arts' and inventions.² The critic partially restores this concept to Montesquieu near the end of his discussion.

P. 120.—How, historically, did Montesquieu's political idealism "inaugurate the spiritualistic reaction"?

P. 180.—The notion of censorship applies only to republics, but it is quoted in connection with the monarchical scheme. (Smaller

² See also *E. L.*, Bk. X, iii; XII, ii; X and XV, *passim*; *Corresp.*, II, 356, etc.

contradictions are found on pp. 206 f., 245 f., 309 and 315, etc.)

P. 251.—The President's insistence on international commerce was probably stimulated by the sale of his wine in England.

P. 284.—Overstatement: "Ce farouche ennemi de l'idée religieuse est néanmoins le plus ardent apologiste de l'idée de progrès." Both clauses seem too emphatic, even though applying to the author of the *Lettres persanes*, and the use of *néanmoins* is decidedly curious. Throughout the eighteenth century enemies of Catholicism were *also* defenders of tolerance. *Il y avait de quoi.*

P. 285.—"Rien aujourd'hui ne demeure des objections que ce philosophe dressait contre la foi." The objections, which are of the same character as those of Voltaire, have of course just as much or as little validity as the reader's mind and temperament are inclined to accord them.

P. 311.—The letter to the parliamentarian³ is hardly as favorable to the clerical cause as here suggested.

P. 331.—French Anglomania had slackened before 1750; and it revived again, in certain directions, during the two decades preceding the Revolution.

P. 331.—Did Montesquieu's authority lose all value in 1789? There is a general impression that the milder Revolutionaries were still under his influence, which waned with the advent of the Terror.

P. 342.—The *Essai sur le goût* must have been written at least by 1753, since the *Correspondance*⁴ then mentions it.

The bibliography, which does not aim at fulness, is selected with discrimination, and contains, as regards French works, most of the titles that one would expect. The chief omissions concern Montesquieu's travels, his *relations*, and the *Grandeur et décadence des Romains*. Since M. Dedieu regrets the lack of material on these matters, one may add certain titles of that nature, together with a few others, out of a large store, which seem to deserve inclusion. The following list contains little or

nothing already found in Vian's or in Lanson's bibliography.

Brunet, G.—"On the Library of Montesquieu," *Bulletin de l'alliance des arts*, Vol. IV (1845), pp. 33-36.

Cantù, C.—"Montesquieu in Italia," *Nuova Antologia*, 3rd series, LIV, 561-72.

Doumic, R.—"Voyages de Montesquieu," *Revue des deux mondes*, CXLII (1897), 924-35.

Fournier de Flaix.—*Les Voyages de Montesquieu*, Paris, 1897.

Hardy, F.—*Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont*, London (?), 1812, I, 160-73.

Hadamezik.—Wodurch unterscheidet sich Montesquieu und seine 'Considérations' von den älteren französischen Historikern? Progr., Crotoschin, 1878.

Ilbert, Sir Courtenay.—*Montesquieu*, Oxford, 1904. (Romanes Lecture.)

Malet.—"Discours de réception à Montesquieu," *Oeuvres*, London, 1740, Vol. VII.

Sakmann.—"Voltaire als Kritiker Montesquieus," *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, CXIII, 374 f.

Schérer, E.—"Comment il faut lire Montesquieu," *Etudes sur la littérature contemporaine*, Paris, 1889, IX, 238-54.

Seidel, E.—*Montesquieus Verdienst um die römische Geschichte*, Annaberg, 1887.

II

M. Dedieu did not have the good fortune to write after the publication of the *Correspondance*. This enterprise, begun by M. Raymond Céleste, has been carried through by M. François Gebelin, with the collaboration of M. André Morize. The value of the undertaking is apparent: the last (Laboulaye's) collection of Montesquieu's letters contained about 150 by his own hand, while here we have three times that number. Over 200 more are added from friends to Montesquieu, making a total of 679 letters, illuminating the man and his period far more satisfactorily than anything hitherto. A thorough index helps greatly in referring to these volumes.

The editors have used principally the archives of La Brède. Many of Montesquieu's letters are there preserved in his manuscript copies, and the letters of his correspondents are likewise found plentifully. Others have been added from various quarters; their respectable quantity implies much industry on the part

³ *Corresp.*, II, 472-78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 492; also in Laboulaye, VII, 422.

of the editors, who have also republished correspondence heretofore scattered in various volumes.

Towards the end of Vol. II those letters thicken which have already appeared in Laboulaye, and indeed half of the whole Correspondence belongs to the last five years of Montesquieu's life. There are many short notes, showing the President's *sécheresse*; his leaning to maxims and epigrams is also illustrated. There is a good deal of waste matter, especially in the letters of others. Montesquieu himself is generally interesting, save when dealing with technical affairs and barring the natural repetition of sentiments and phrases.

The editorial work has been done discreetly, with sensible reconstructing and altering when necessary. Otherwise, the editors scarcely appear, save in the brief Introduction, where a history of the Correspondence is given. Here, by the way, the Abbé Guasco is let off rather easily, since his marauding hand is surely visible more than once in Montesquieu's epistles. The President's *brouillons* are carefully described; it is pointed out how his numerous corrections and erasures (conspicuous, we may say, in love-letters) reveal his "conscience d'écrivain"; cautions are given concerning annotations and datings by another hand; finally, the wide range and interest of the Correspondence are emphasized.

This is certainly the first point that impresses one in the letters. Restricted, of course, as compared to the circle of Voltaire, Montesquieu's better selected correspondents yet represent rather completely the more intellectual phases of eighteenth-century society. The world of the *philosophes* and of the *salon* women is thoroughly displayed. Not so representative is the time-distribution of the letters, which leaves several periods almost voiceless, among them the period of Montesquieu's siege of the Academy, as well as his sojourn in England. Between 1734 and 1742, again, the Correspondence covers only forty pages.

What we newly learn, or the matters concerning which our knowledge is much reinforced, may fall under these headings:⁵ Mon-

tesquieu's character, his business, his domestic relations, his love-affairs, his friendships, his Anglomania, his interest in the Academies and the physical sciences, and his own works. One may add to these certain information about the period.

In character, Montesquieu stands out much as he has hitherto been known. His stoicism is manifested in connection with various troubles, particularly the partial loss of his eyesight. He gives some expression of this doctrine, while defending his admiration for Marcus Antoninus.⁶ He appears as tranquil even when some of his feminine friends think he ought to be moved. He relishes the studious quiet of the country, frequently opposing it to the hollowness of Paris.

The word *moderation* occurs often in his later letters and is associated with that tolerant spirit which his friends appreciated. The flatterer Castel praises Montesquieu's adaptability. His contempt for war is conspicuous; his *bienfaisance* is exhibited in his dealings with his laborers, his succoring of La Beau-melle, Piron, etc.

His aristocratic leanings are evident. He is bitter against the *traitants* and financiers, he distrusts authorship and whatever smacks of specialism, while his personal pride is manifest. He has a poor opinion of princes and of *petits-maitres*, and a rather better opinion of himself. He likes etiquette and dignity. His qualities of leadership are evidenced in connection with the Bordeaux Academy and with the affairs of his family.

He is absent-minded, and is occasionally rallied on that account by fair correspondents. He forgets engagements, arrives late, and needs directing. He seems a little *sauvage* and rustic after a long stay in the country.

In business matters, he shows interest in his farms and tenants. He is not keen concerning legal details and does not bother about trifling impositions. His island, his trees and garden, and especially his wine, are often mentioned. He is occupied with removing the tax on the *vin du pays*, he receives and fills orders, exports to England, and generally takes pride in his

⁵ I do not dwell on material already in Laboulaye.

⁶ II, 304-05.

vineyard, which must have been quite a lucrative enterprise.

He sells his *charge* as President of the Bordeaux Parlement, cleverly arranging to keep the reversion for his son. In putting through the marriage of his daughter, he declares, in reasonable self-appraisal: "Je suis un bon homme d'affaires."⁷

This marriage offers a good illustration of his rôle as the head of a family. He masterfully arranges a match between his daughter and a cousin, for the purpose of keeping up the family estates. He shows generosity as regards the dower, dispenses with the *corbeille*, and lets the bridegroom know his pleasure as to the place and style of the wedding. After their marriage, he looks out for the business interests of the young people. This daughter, Denise, was his favorite, and his letters to her evince much affection, together always with a masterful superiority. The same quality shines in dealings with and for his rather helpless brother, as well as with his son, his son-in-law, etc. As for Montesquieu's wife, she scarcely appears. We have no letter bearing that address, though she once writes to her husband in a somewhat pathetic, cajoling manner.⁸ Montesquieu repeatedly states his view that marriage ruins love.

That he sought elsewhere. To affairs of the heart he gives usually a conventionally gallant expression, compact of sensuality, sighs, and compliments. He has no great opinion of women in general; he uses a blunt tone with several and brusquely breaks off with several more. "Il y a un sexe entier sur lequel on ne peut pas compter."⁹ However, he attains to a more passionate tone in writing to the *innominate* of Letter 57 and to the Princesse Trivulce in Italy.

His general *relations*, especially with friends and the ladies of the *salons*, show a warmer heart. To the former he is all helpfulness and affection. He holds that *les honnêtes gens* think first of other people,¹⁰ and he thinks of

⁷ I, 409.

⁸ I, 386-87.

⁹ I, 74.

¹⁰ II, 200.

his friends very often. These would include Hénault, Fontenelle, Maupertuis, as well as the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and Mme. de Mirpoix.

He was on good terms with the four chief leaders of the *salons*. He showers compliments on all and writes admiringly to each of her special reception-days—the *mardis* of Mme. de Lambert, the *mercredis* of Mme. du Deffand. The former's services are required in securing Morville as protector of the Bordeaux Academy; her psychological keenness is instanced by her analysis of Montesquieu's restlessness abroad.¹¹ Mme. de Tencin, more intimate with the President than any of the others, scolds him for his *distractions*, calls him "mon petit Romain," and gives a capable criticism of the *Esprit des lois*. Mme. de Geoffrin also adopts a rallying tone, though her friendship with Montesquieu was of later and perhaps of shallower growth.¹² Mme. du Deffand likewise knows the President late, but is none the less familiar. All of them *raffolent* concerning the *Esprit des lois*, and generally they write in a tone of sprightliness, with occasional penetration. Their letters to Montesquieu are more revealing than his to them.

He is associated with English people at two epochs of his life: just after his return from that country and after the publication of the *Esprit des lois*. It was a relationship of mutual esteem. We find him communicating with Bulkeley, Martin Ffolkes, Domville, exchanging a literary correspondence with Hume and Warburton, and polite attentions with several others. His Anglomania is conceived in a spirit of true cosmopolitanism; he insists on the advantages of exchanging *lumières*, of mutually translating works and abolishing prejudices.¹³ He is preoccupied, from 1730 on, with the English character and mind, and makes frequent allusions to their ways of doing things. For him, England is the "great tribunal of Europe" in matters of the intellect,

¹¹ I, 263.

¹² On the question of Guasco, and Montesquieu's possible rupture with Mme. de Geoffrin, see the Introduction.

¹³ II, 356.

as she will be the last defender of Europe in matters of liberty.¹⁴

The attention given to provincial academies supports Brunetière's belief as to their general importance in the century. Montesquieu takes much more interest in the Academy of Bordeaux than in that of Paris. He is concerned with seeking for it successive protectors, with its buildings, its library, its scientific apparatus and productiveness—especially as encouraging the natural sciences. He is also pleased to belong to the Academy of Nancy and to the English Royal Society.

His taste for physics and mathematics appears in this connection and in his correspondence with Castel and Barbot. Particularly entertaining is the series of long, naïf, self-centered letters of the former cleric, who having doubtless afforded Montesquieu much amusement in this world, was selected by fate to convoy him comfortably out of it. Montesquieu often writes about mathematics and astronomy, microscopes and apparatus for experimentation. His zeal in this respect declined in his later years, but he evidently took no small share in its first vogue.

As regards the works, Hénault furnishes a good criticism of the *Grandeur et décadence des Romains*,¹⁵ and Montesquieu categorically denies the authorship of the *Temple de Gnide*.¹⁶ We learn the exact date of the composition of *Sylla et Eucrate*, concerning which the editors have an interesting note.¹⁷ There is a great deal about the *Esprit des lois*. Montesquieu's statement that he discovered his principles c. 1730 corresponds with M. Dedieu's reasoning, as does the repeated antithesis between moral and physical causes. There are many details as to the composition of the *Lois*, the author's stake in it, his troubles about publication and with the Index. Much of this is parallel to what Voltaire experienced with the *Lettres philosophiques*. Montesquieu evinces an apparent willingness to change expressions and the divisions of the work. Its general recep-

tion, the chorus of praise, its cosmopolitan influence, are all well marked in the letters. There are penetrating bits of criticism, insistence, for example, on the author's *bienveillance* and "laconic eloquence," and occasionally the dissentient voice of a more advanced *philosophe*—Helvétius, Voltaire, Hume—is heard.

The interesting picture of the times here presented scarcely falls within the scope of this paper. The chief topics discussed are such events as changes of ministry and the king's illness; gossip about court affairs, which frequently resembles Cyrano's budget, in that it is always a question of the news of the day; financial stress, famine and plague, are seen as dimming the splendor of the old régime; notably, there is a growing emphasis on *la philosophie*—the word and the idea become generally more popular as the Correspondence advances. There is less about *littérateurs* proper than one might expect; few are conspicuously mentioned besides Lamotte and Voltaire, with regard to whom there are some excellent sidelights.

The tone of the Correspondence is that of gentility. Occasional bluntness scarcely mars the effect of choice style, particularly in the letters of the women. There are elaborate compliments, not necessarily insincere. There are bits of preciosity and the atmosphere of the *salon*, but little that is too free and nothing that is common.

III

The school-edition of the *Lettres persanes*, prepared by Mr. R. L. Cru for the Oxford French Series, is a capable piece of work, provided with a good full introduction and notes. The text used is that of Barchhausen, which does not differ essentially from the text hitherto received. In his annotations, Dr. Cru shows much dependence, generally justified, on those of Barchhausen and Laboulaye. For school purposes, of course, the harem portion of the *Lettres persanes* has to go, and the loss is regrettable only in that the monument thus purified loses a part of its Oriental *cadre* which is characteristic of the century. A few omissions that might have remained will be noted

¹⁴ II, 140, 208.

¹⁵ II, 49.

¹⁶ I, 87.

¹⁷ I, 55.

in the last paragraph of this paper, with which exceptions the editor has shown judgment in his choice of letters. Other features of the edition are several interesting illustrations, occasional slips in English, a good account of the sources, especially of the borrowings from Chardin, an emphasis on the importance of the book as a document, the wise retention of the regular numerotation of the letters, a well-proportioned, adequate view of Montesquieu in the Introduction, and notes that for once are really satisfactory and full—whether for Persian references, affairs of the Regency, or matters bearing on the author.

Some errors of detail and some debatable differences of opinion may be listed in view of a possible second edition.

A. INTRODUCTION.—P. vii. It would be better to emphasize rather the *noblesse de robe* side of Montesquieu's family, since this counted most on his mind and character.—P. viii. The general vogue and cause of the contemporary scientific interest might well be stated.—P. x. The "high hopes of the Regency" seems too idealistic a phrase—witness the *Lettres persanes* themselves.—P. xii. Mme. du Deffand's *salon* was not organized in the early 'twenties.—P. xiii. Was Montesquieu excitable?—P. xvi. In a text-book for American students, more should be made of his influence on our constitution and early statesmen.—P. xviii. The *esprit philosophique*, under whatever name, had hardly been so notable in France "for half a century" before 1721. Also it is doubtful if Montesquieu had La Bruyère's power of observation, if this is meant psychologically.—P. xx. The "artfulness" of the mixture in the *Lettres* may be questioned. Dr. Cru himself speaks of Montesquieu's desultoriness, and the word "jumbled" seems a more appropriate characterization.

B. NOTES.—P. 252. Voltaire is not constant as to the natural virtue of man.—P. 257. The origin of the modern "sick man of Europe" phrase, anticipated by Montesquieu, might well have been assigned to the Czar Nicholas I.—P. 258. The device of making a foreigner fall from the skies is also employed by Voltaire (*Traité de Métaphysique*).—P. 263.

Locating the "Marais" in terms of the Arrondissements would not be helpful to the American students.—P. 273. The family relationship of the religions finds a parallel and a possible source in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*. The connection between Swift and Montesquieu will, when carefully worked out, probably reveal several curious similarities.—P. 276. Fontenelle's *Eloges* are concerned rather with members of the Academy of Sciences.—P. 283. Here, the word *vertu* has not altogether the narrower sense of civic virtue characteristic of the *Esprit des lois*—see the letters on the *Troglodytes*. An allusion to Montesquieu's own court-disappointment and temporary retirement would seem appropriate.—P. 287. Also an allusion to *Turcaret* in connection with the *traitants*.—P. 296. Since the Maréchal de Berwick is mentioned, why not recall his friendship with Montesquieu?—P. 303. Are there any other explanations of the *C. de G.*?—P. 304. The Appendix (ranked as *Lettre 145* previous to Barckhausen) speaks for Montesquieu not only impersonally in the last part, but fictitiously (through Usbek) in the first part.

C. OMITTED LETTERS.—The majority of the following passages should, in my opinion, have been retained. The questionable sentences could have been deleted, and much that is significant would have been thus preserved.

Letter 6 (to give the milder harem background and some self-analysis).—Letter 55: the portions referring to European marriages and the situation of women in the eighteenth century.—Letter 67: the first few paragraphs, containing much of Montesquieu's character and outlook—his cosmopolitanism and old Roman spirit.—Letter 107 (the greater part of this concerns monarchy and the rule of women).—Letters 112–116: the more characteristic portions.

The edition is nevertheless satisfactory in the main. It should render distinct service in any presentation of eighteenth-century ideas to the class-room.

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SHAFTESBURY UND WIELAND

Wieland and Shaftesbury, by CHARLES ELSON.

New York, Columbia University Press, 1913.
8vo., xii + 144 pp.

Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Chr. M. Wieland. Mit einer Einleitung über den Einfluss Shaftesburys auf die deutsche Literatur bis 1760, von H. GRUDZINSKI. Stuttgart, Metzler, 1913. 8vo., vii + 104 S.

Diese beiden Arbeiten sind fast gleichzeitig erschienen. Sie ergänzen sich, eben weil beide einseitig geraten sind. Elson ist viel gründlicher als Grudzinski, aber er arbeitet den wirklichen "Einfluss" Shaftesburys auf Wieland nicht genügend klar heraus, und zwar hauptsächlich deshalb, weil er seinen Stoff nicht chronologisch wie Grudzinski einteilt. Die Einteilung nach philosophischen Problemen ist sicher tiefer und schwerer als das Rechnen von Werk zu Werk, aber sie muss Daten zur Anschauungshilfe gebrauchen, sonst verwirrt sie. Und an einer gewissen Verschwommenheit der Darstellung leidet Elson im Gegensatz zu Grudzinski, der dafür freilich oberflächlicher über die eigentlichen Probleme hingehnt. Beide haben leider ihre Einzeluntersuchung nicht genug in das Licht einer Gesamtbetrachtung Wielands gerückt. Deshalb kommen wir zu keiner wirklichen Anschauung der grossen Linien seines Wesens und Wirkens.

Elson ist auf der rechten Spur, wenn er (S. 80 u. a.) an Goethes tiefe Worte über Wieland erinnert: in der Gedenkrede von 1813 und im Maskenzug von 1818. Goethe sagt in der Rede ausdrücklich: "An einem solchen Mann wie Shaftesbury fand nun unser Wieland nicht einen Vorgänger, dem er folgen, nicht einen Genossen, mit dem er arbeiten sollte, sondern einen wahrhaften älteren Zwillingsbruder im Geiste, dem er vollkommen glich, ohne nach ihm gebildet zu sein." Und das trifft den Kernpunkt des Verhältnisses der beiden Geister.

Wielands Bildungsideal, das eine Verschmelzung mannigfacher Zeitströmungen zeigt, wie Emil Hamann (*Wielands Bildungsideal*, Chemnitz 1907) nachweist, erwächst auf dem Boden

der Aufklärung, aber seine Wurzeln reichen tiefer zurück: in den deutschen Pietismus. Innerste Selbstachtung und Selbstbetrachtung, "das Herz" und die "schöne Seele," der Sinn für das eigne Seelenleben und also auch die Einsamkeit und demgegenüber der Sinn für innige Gemeinsamkeit, der sich notwendig aus dem überfließenden Subjektivismus ergibt, alles das verdankt das 18. Jahrhundert in Deutschland dem bodenständigen Pietismus, dem schliesslich auch der deutsche Humanitätsgedanke entwachsen ist. Geselligkeitstrieben und Freundschaftskult brauchten die Deutschen des 18. Jahrhunderts deshalb nicht erst aus Shaftesbury zu lernen. Der englische Schöngeist hat hier meist nur verstärkend und gar nicht wirklich erneuernd gewirkt. Und was so für die Gesamthaltung der ganzen Zeit zu sagen ist, gilt auch für Wieland. Man denke z.B. nur an seinen Optimismus. Ganz natürlich war das hochgespannte Gefühl des Pietisten hell, optimistisch getönt. Und zu diesem gefühlsmässigen hat Wieland sehr früh in seinem Leben den gedanklichen Optimismus eines Leibniz kennen gelernt, der sich ja bekanntlich gänzlich unabhängig von Shaftesbury entwickelte. Das haben Elson (S. 45; 115 ff.) und Grudzinski (S. 16; 73 ff.) nicht gehörig erkannt. Und wenn unseres Dichters sanguinische Natur schon vom Pietismus und von Leibniz her tief beeinflusst wurde, dann bleibt für Shaftesbury oder später Rousseau keine wirkliche "Umgestaltung" mehr übrig.

Und ähnlich verhält es sich mit der ästhetischen Beeinflussung Wielands durch Shaftesbury. Auch hier dürfen blosse Parallelen in der Auffassung des Schönen usw. nicht zu ursächlicher Verbindung verleiten. Die deutsche Aesthetik ist durch Baumgarten, einen bewussten Leibnizianer, und mit ihm von Georg Friedrich Meier begründet worden, und Meier z.B. lässt Shaftesbury gänzlich gleichgültig (vergl. Ernst Bergmann, *Die Begründung der deutschen Aesthetik*, Leipzig 1911, besonders S. 144 f.). Grudzinski erwähnt das S. 101, Anm. 50, ohne sich der Folgerungen für seine Schrift bewusst zu werden. Dagegen ist beispielsweise Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Kants Aesthetik und die Sulzers und Mendelsohns nicht zu leugnen,

obschon gerade Kant und Mendelsohn schnell über Shaftesbury hinausgegangen sind.—Wieland nun hat frühe Beziehungen zu Meier (vergl. Emil Ermatinger, *Die Weltanschauung des jungen Wieland*, Frauenfeld 1907), und Meier zu den Schweizern, und da die kritischen Hauptwerke der Schweizer keinerlei Spuren Shaftesburyschen Einflusses aufweisen, wie Grudzinski richtig betont, so kann auch Bodmer nicht gut unserm Wieland tiefe Anregungen aus Shaftesbury übermittelt haben, wie Grudzinski (S. 48) meint, Elson jedoch nicht. Doch das ist nebensächlich gegenüber der Hauptfrage.

Shaftesbury (1671–1713) vertritt die englische Moralphilosophie, die nach Deutschland (Herder, Schiller!) als "Popularphilosophie" hinüberwirkt. Es ist eine auf gesunden Menschenverstand und Geschmack aufgebaute "Hausphilosophie," die manchmal nur einen bequemen ästhetischen Pragmatismus für feine Leute darstellt, den Deutschen des 18. Jahrhunderts aber durchweg als "Lebenskunst" erschien. Und so hat Shaftesburys Gedanke, dass Philosophie eine Kunst zu leben sei, auf jene Deutschen und auch auf Wieland wirklich einen Eindruck gemacht. Shaftesburys ästhetische Lebensanschauung, die Deutschen wie Kant und Lessing, Schiller und Schleiermacher auf die Dauer nicht genügte, hat zum Ziel den "fine gentleman and man of sense," den *virtuoso*. Damit hängt der ästhetische Begriff der Harmonie zusammen, der Harmonie als Naturprinzip und Lebensideal. Erreichte Harmonie ist Glück, und Glück ist Anfang und Ende menschlichen Strebens. Philosophie ist demnach "das Studium der Glückseligkeit."

Der Begriff der Harmonie enthält und bedingt den der Schönheit, und wie schon seit der Renaissance *schön* auch für *natürlich* und also *erlaubt* und deshalb *sittlich* galt, so ist auch bei Shaftesbury *schön* gleich *gut*.

Neu war alles das nicht, aber es wurde von Shaftesbury mit dem Ernst und dem Optimismus und vor allem dem praktischen Sinn des englischen Aufklärers vorgetragen, und noch dazu im Stil eines echten Künstlers der Prosa. Wo er als Künstler zu Künstlern spricht, wie im "*Advice to an Author*," da liegen mir seine tiefsten Wirkungen auf die deutschen Klassiker und Männer wie Mendelsohn und Justus Möser

u.a. (vergl. Grudzinski, S. 76 f., und Elson, S. 119 ff.).

Unter den verschiedenen Schriften, die Shaftesburys *Characteristics* (1711) enthalten, haben einmal die Briefe über den Enthusiasmus und über die Freiheit von Witz und Humor und sodann die philosophische Rhapsodie "Die Moralisten" auf die deutschen Poeten, Aesthetiker und Aestheten am meisten gewirkt.

Um Shaftesburys Ansichten über den Enthusiasmus zu verstehen, muss man sie im Rahmen der englischen Geistesgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts betrachten, was weder Elson noch Grudzinski getan hat (vergl. u.a. J. E. V. Crofts' Aufsatz über *Enthusiasm in Eighteenth Century Literature*. An Oxford Miscellany, 1909, S. 127–150). Shaftesbury als echter Aufklärer lehnt allen Enthusiasmus im technischen Sinn ab als religiöse Schwärmerei, Fanatismus, Aberglauben und auch allgemeinen Überschwang. Und zwar empfiehlt er zur Abwehr alldessen *good humour* (*test of ridicule*), etwa wie später George Meredith *comic spirit* im "Essay on Comedy" in ein ganzes System bringt. Shaftesbury meint mit *good humour* manchmal unbeschränkte Vernunft, Witz, selbst Spott à la Bernard Shaw und besten Falls—seelisches Gleichmass. Wichmann (1768) übersetzt es mit "gute Laune," während Goethe in jener Gedenkrede die Worte *Frohsinn* und *Heiterkeit* (!) gebraucht. An den blossen Worten sieht man, wie der Deutsche die englischen Begriffe umformt: eindeutscht.

In Shaftesburys "Moralisten" u.a. hat dann *enthusiasm*, wofür auch *inspiration* usw. steht, ungefähr die Bedeutung des deutschen *Enthusiasmus*. Ungefähr nur, denn sowie deutsche Überschwänglichkeit im Wort ist, hat es schon mit der "vernünftigen Ekstase" Shaftesburys nichts mehr zu tun. Schliesslich haben die Deutschen auch in Shaftesburys "Enthusiasmus" ihren eigenen Sinn hineingelegt, wie sie auch das Prometheussymbol von Shaftesbury entlehnt, aber mit ihrem Geist gefüllt haben (vergl. Oskar Walzels Schrift *Das Prometheusymbol von Shaftesbury zu Goethe*, Leipzig und Berlin 1910).

Das eigentliche "Erlebnis des Enthusiasmus," das für das ganze deutsche 18. Jahrhundert eine grosse Rolle spielt, ist durchaus

deutsch und aus der deutschen Mystik, dem Pietismus und dem Pathos der deutschen Aufklärung genügend zu erklären. Mehr als hier und da eine ästhetische Begründung der Zeitstimmung hat Shaftesbury nicht gegeben. Übrigens hat auch England Shaftesbury schnell überwunden. Dort hat Berkeley dem echten Enthusiasmus in der Philosophie und Poesie zum Sieg verholfen—and zwar gegen den sogenannten *common sense*, für den gerade Shaftesbury stets eintrat.

Für Wieland ist es nun höchst kennzeichnend, dass er von Shaftesbury hauptsächlich zum Kampf gegen jenen falschen Enthusiasmus angeregt wurde (Elson, S. 41; 107 f.; Grudzinski, S. 78; 87). Selbst der Oberon dient diesem Kampf. Das Undeutsche in Shaftesburys Gedanken hat Wieland nicht gespürt. Das bringt ein fremdes Element in sein Geistesbild—zu seiner sonstigen "französischen Behandlungsweise" (Naturphilosophie, politische Anschauungen, Witz, Stil u.a.m.).

Durch und durch Aufklärer wie Shaftesbury ist nun auch Wieland. Über die Tugend ist sein Denken nicht hinausgekommen. Das Problem der faustischen Natur (vergl. Oskar Wallzel, *Vom Geistesleben des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1911, S. 134 ff.) bedeutet ihm nichts, weil er kein Prometheus, d.h. im innersten Wesen doch nicht enthusiastisch war.

Wie hat er nun das Gedankengut Shaftesburys aufgenommen und verarbeitet? Er hat grosses Gefallen am Virtuosenideal gefunden und damit zugleich ein näheres Verhältnis zu Xenophon und Horaz gewonnen. Aber kennen gelernt hat er beide nicht erst durch den englischen Schöngest (Elson, S. 13 f.; Grudzinski, S. 71). Es wäre nun noch nötig festzustellen, worin sich Wieland und Shaftesbury in ihren Auffassungen der antiken Denker unterscheiden. Sah Wieland z.B. in Horaz wie Shaftesbury den Virtuoso? (Grudzinski, S. 79; 90 ff.). Und wieweit eignete er sich überhaupt jenes Virtuosenideal an? Schon Ermatinger (S. 138 ff.) hat diese Frage aufgeworfen, und Elson (S. 94 ff.) hat sie wohl verstanden, aber nicht recht beantwortet.

So ist nur zu sagen, dass Shaftesbury einen gewissen Einfluss auf Wielands "Gesundung" um 1760 gehabt hat, wie das besonders Elson

(S. 14; 17) hervorhebt. Gemeint ist nämlich die Abkehr vom einseitigen Pietistentum und von einer nebligen Mystik der ersten Periode. Und Grudzinski betont mit Recht die Lebensphilosophie Shaftesburys vor der Schönheitsphilosophie, deren Wirkung er z.T. ungünstig nennt (S. 58 f.; 62). Das führt zur letzten Frage nach der Bedeutung der Shaftesburyschen ästhetischen Lebensanschauung für Wielands Leben. Elson gibt dazu nur einige verstreute Bemerkungen (S. 80; 97; 114). Und so bleibt auch die Frage nach dem Erlebnis in Wielands Dichtung noch ungelöst.

Da der Einfluss der Volksart auf die Lebensanschauung feststeht (vgl. Rudolf Eucken, *Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker*, 9. Auflage, Leipzig 1911), so sei auch hier zum Schluss obigen Bemerkungen noch hinzugefügt, dass schon Goethe auf Wielands Grundkonflikt hingewiesen hat, nämlich die "Klemme zwischen dem Denkbaren und dem Wirklichen," und eben dieses scheidet Wieland grundsätzlich von Shaftesbury. Denn Shaftesburys lächelnd selbstgewisse, weltmännische Kultur kennt Kompromisse, die gelegentlich an Bolingbrokes Gewissenlosigkeit erinnern, was einen allein schon davon abhalten sollte, kühn eine Linie von Shaftesbury zum deutschen Humanismus der Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Humboldt zu ziehen.

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CORRESPONDENCE

LESSING AND WACKENRODER AS ANTICIPATORS OF WILLIAM JAMES

All advanced students of psychology are familiar with the late Professor William James's hypothesis according to which "we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble," and do not "cry, strike, or tremble, because we are sorry, angry, or fearful." There are at least two instances in German literature where James was anticipated in this theory. Lessing says in his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, third piece, that if the actor, who has to play the rôle of an angry character, goes through the motions of being

angry, he will in course of time become angry because he acted this way: "Wenn er nur diese Dinge, die sich nachmachen lassen, sobald man will, gut nachmacht, so wird dadurch unfehlbar seine Seele ein dunkles Gefühl von Zorn befallen, welches wiederum in den Körper zurückwirkt." And in Wackenroder's *Phantasien über die Kunst für Freunde der Kunst* we find this statement: "Der Mensch ist ursprünglich ein gar unschuldiges Wesen. Wenn wir noch in der Wiege liegen, wird unser kleines Gemüt von hundert unsichtbaren kleinen Geistern genährt und erzogen und in allen artigen Künsten geübt. So lernen wir durchs Lächeln nach und nach fröhlich sein, durchs Weinen lernen wir traurig sein, durchs Angaffen mit grossen Augen lernen wir, was erhaben ist, anbeten," and so on. Neither Lessing nor Wackenroder had in mind precisely what is connoted by the James-Lange theory of emotions. And yet, since James applies his hypothesis, in his discussion of the "coarser" emotions, to actors, Lessing's statement sounds peculiarly like that of James, while Wackenroder's fits in equally well in James's discussion of the "subtler" emotions.

For the entire matter, see *The Principles of Psychology* by William James, New York, 1905, Vol. II, pp. 442-485; Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, first edition, Vol. I, pp. 17-24; and Wackenroder's *Phantasien über die Kunst für Freunde der Kunst*, edition of Heinrich Spiess, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 164-165. Neither Lessing nor Wackenroder was especially interested in psychology, and hence the elaboration of the theory in question did not concern them; but a careful study of the whole text in which the passages are found shows that they had, on the whole, the same idea that Professor James later worked out in detail. That he did not know Lessing and Wackenroder in this connection is proved by the fact that he states (*ibid.*, p. 450) that his hypothesis will doubtless be attacked, though unsuccessfully, and that he does not mention either Lessing or Wackenroder.

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BRIEF MENTION

Palmer's edition of *Wilhelm Tell* (Holt and Company, 1915) has just received a new dress, one that is in every way a marked improvement upon the old. Although a set of *Fragen* by Professor Purin has been added, the bulk of the volume has, through a recasting of the Vocabulary and various excisions—among which that of the Bibliography is perhaps alone to be regretted,—actually been reduced by some ten pages. One feels willing to sacrifice some of the ballast of learning for such an inspiring passage as that from Bryant facing the facsimile of the original title-page. Nor has the Vocabulary lost through a reduction to a minimum of the references to lines, which in the older form were a veritable *pons asinorum*. Some old errors in both Notes and Vocabulary have, to be sure, stuck. The following may perhaps deserve correction:

(NOTES). It is not correct (p. 178) to say, in general, that a new *Szene* implies a change of place and stage-setting.—l. 505: *hätten* is, of course, dependent upon *tüt es not*.—l. 1127: *dreie* is anything but a rare form.—l. 1343: not *zurückhält* but *hält . . . zurück*.—l. 2152: *dass (es) gebetet werde* is impossible German.—l. 2242: *wenn du dir's getrautes* is not 'if you were confident' but 'if you would undertake, would venture'.—l. 2433: *Stadt* is distinctly *not* understood.—l. 2780: The note confuses *soll* and *sollte*.

(VOCABULARY). *Flug*: *im Flug* not *im Fluge* (l. 1949).—*gerade*: The form *grade* is so common in the play that it should have received recognition in the Vocabulary.—*Gersau* is hardly a 'hamlet.'—*Kriegsdrommète*, not *Kriegsdrommête*.—*Runs*: That Schiller's form is *der Runs* is shown by the passage printed in *Euphorion*, xix, 589.—*Simons und Judä* not *Simon u. J.*.—Plural form of *Wohnstätte*.

ERRATUM

On p. 225, col. 1, l. 4 of Professor Holbrook's review of Olmsted's grammar, the printer's error should be corrected so that the passage will read: "Mr. O. uses g to symbolize the voiced explosive of words such as *gant* (instead of *g*), and *he*," etc.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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